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STRAIGHTENING OUT THE LATIN SENTENCE¹

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For some years I had been wanting, as a sort of safety vent for my own feelings, to write a paper about Latin word order. One morning I found in my mail a letter asking me to prepare something for this meeting. A few hours later a college student, translating one of Pliny's letters, was getting along well when, all at once, she stopped and said, "I couldn't straighten out the rest of it." "There," said I to myself, "is my subject." Said I to her, "Suppose you read it along, slowly, in the order, just as Pliny wrote it." She did so, with a little encouragement, and, lo and behold, the sentence didn't need any straightening. Part of it was not in typical English order, but the meaning was perfectly clear. This was not an isolated case. It wasn't a week before I heard exactly the same words in another class, with exactly the same result. A frequent and favorite complaint is that it's all mixed up. "Well, who mixed it up?" I ask, "You or Cicero?" Usually I find that Cicero is not the guilty person.

Students are so anxious to arrive quickly at the goal of good English—which to most of them means subject first, verb, direct object, et cetera—that they try to "straighten out," as they say, before they know the meaning of the sentence, and often with astounding results. The harder they struggle, the tighter the knot they tie.

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When I first get hold of these students and try to convince them that Cicero or Pliny or Horace knew what he wanted to say and how to say it, they almost invariably fall back on the same statement: *they* have been taught to translate into *good* English, and apparently they don't like my brand. Now even I have no objection to good English, but I insist that you must know the meaning of the passage, and that the easiest way to get that meaning is to read the sentence through in the Latin order, keeping your eyes open, of course, for cases, moods, and tenses.

When I say "read," I mean give the meaning in English words, for I do not claim that I teach my students to get the meaning, or to convey it, without the help of English. The time we can give to preparation and to recitation is too short. I tell students, too, that reading and translating are two entirely different matters. To read Latin, that is to get the meaning, one needs an accurate knowledge of four things—vocabulary, forms, syntax, and, not least important, order. One must read before he can translate. Furthermore the really good translator, like the poet, is born, not made—he must be inspired by a certain breath from the gods, as it were.

Readers can be made, but not, I am sure, by inspiration. A young man once told me that he prayed every night that the Lord would help him with his Latin. Evidently the Lord had forgotten His Latin, for the young man seemed to be getting no help with his home work. No, the gods don't teach vocabulary, forms, and syntax. Neither do they offer to straighten out the order of words in a Latin sentence. They leave that for me to attempt in this paper.

But, as you may have noticed, I have claimed that the Latin sentence doesn't need to be straightened out. Just read it along in the order and there you are. If this is so, as Cicero says, I have nothing more to say. The case has been stated. But, like Cicero, I can't stop here. I must go ahead and make a speech anyway.

It must be admitted that it really isn't so simple as all that. There are certain peculiarities of Latin order well calculated to ensnare the feet of the tiro. But most of them can be formulated into rules and drilled upon until order begins to appear out of chaos and reading Latin ceases to be mere guess work—a desperate

struggle to make some kind of sense out of an apparently meaningless tangle of words.

I know that I have nothing to offer the experienced teacher who probably handles this much better than I do. I hope that I can say something helpful for some young teacher who may be here today.

Even high-school freshmen learn some things about Latin order. They know that the verb is likely to come at the end of the sentence, and that adjectives often follow the nouns they modify—both very crazy notions, they think.

Even in the first year they must become accustomed to this new way of saying things, and must learn to let the ideas come to them as they came to a Roman. It won't hurt a boy to read "The boy good the horses black to the field large drove" the first time he goes through it. He won't want to leave it that way and it won't be long before he can see two words at a time, when his eye will see *puer bonus* but his tongue will say "the good boy." After he has read the sentence through with the verb at the end he must *translate* it, of course, but that is easy if he knows what it means, much easier than jumping back and forth over a sentence, grasshopper fashion, hunting for a verb to put after the subject.

As the sentences become longer and the syntax more complex, other rules are needed. They are in the Latin grammars, but I find that I have to hammer them in, even with college classes. I find myself talking most often about adjectives, relative pronouns, and verbs. Will you pardon me if I repeat what must be very old stuff to most of you?

1. Many adjectives do follow their nouns, but adjectives of size and number, as well as demonstrative, relative, and interrogative adjectives precede and are likely to precede even a preposition. The eye must now learn to take in three words at once; it must see *quam ob rem, magno in periculo*, as units and translate accordingly.

2. If a noun is modified by an adjective and at the same time by a genitive, a prepositional phrase, or even by a short relative clause, these may come between the adjective and the noun, either before or after; and, strangely enough, they seem easier to handle when they follow.

This order would be hard to parallel in English, which, with few inflections, must keep related words together. But the phenomenon is so common in Latin that the teacher will do well to dwell upon it until students recognize it and realize that here again they have only an eyeful before them, that they can see *in tantis rei publicae periculis, summo erga vos amore, ea quae secula est aestate*, although they must read "in such great perils of the state," "because of their great love for you," "in the following summer."

I think that the Latin relative clause deserves more attention than the Latin grammars give it. The grammars state the facts, to be sure, but the teacher will have to supply the emphasis. Relative pronouns make me more trouble than subjunctive verbs, and that's saying something. Usually, of course, they are like the English relative—the antecedent precedes, which is proper behavior for an antecedent. But in Latin these things need to be observed:

1. The relative clause may precede the antecedent noun or demonstrative, and often the noun stands in the relative clause. I use Caesar's *Quae pars Helvetiae civitatis insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit* as a model and quote it ad libitum.

The construction occurs in English too. No bride goes away from the marriage ceremony and lies awake worrying because the preacher put the relative clause first and omitted the antecedent when he said, "Whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you" is still a good text in spite of the peculiar behavior of the relative. "Who steals my purse, steals trash" states a fact even if the relative has no expressed antecedent. But how dreadful when Cicero or Livy uses the same kind of expression.

2. *Quantus* and *qualis* are often relatives and possess the same idiosyncrasies as the others. Most college freshmen don't believe this, but they come to call them relatives after a while. Of course they miss it sometimes if the words happen to be interrogative, but that's another story.

If they remember that *quantus* is a relative and that its proper antecedent is *tantus*, they can make their way, slowly and haltingly perhaps, but surely, through even such a passage as Cicero's long

question in the *Pro Archia*:

Quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi iure suscenseat si quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum, quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilae, tantum mihi egomet ad haec studia recolenda sumpsero?

Well, Cicero did outdo himself with that sentence. We shall have to make several starts before we get through with it. *Quantum* at first will mean *how much* and we'll think it is interrogative, but the indicative verbs will settle the indirect question idea. The whole sentence is a question, to be sure, but the *quis* and the interrogation mark take care of that. If *quantum* isn't interrogative, it must be relative, but translate *how much* and go ahead, reading carefully in the order, and getting the meaning little by little:

"Who would justly censure me if, how much to all others for conducting their own affairs, how much for celebrating the festal days of the games, how much for other pleasures and even for rest of mind and body is granted" (notice *conceditur*, indicative) *temporum*—here we strike a snag—*temporum*, genitive plural—look in the notes—partitive genitive with *quantum*, "how much time," antecedent noun in relative clause. Better begin all over and read down to *conceditur temporum* again.

"How much (time) other men give to early banquets, how much in short to gambling, how much to ball, so much for myself *I* (egomet) take for reviewing these studies." Now, I don't think that I should dare print that as a translation. But I'm not afraid to read it so. And by the time two or three members of the class have read it through in that way, they all know what it means and how their editor got the *good* English of the notes.

3. The connecting relative, so common in Latin, is rare in English, and I find that I must keep calling attention to it until it becomes familiar. Sometimes two relatives stand at the beginning of a sentence, one the connecting relative with its antecedent in the preceding sentence, the other with no antecedent, or one in the following clause. Look out for this.

I shall not pause to remark that Latin likes to put pronouns referring to different persons, or to the same person, but in different

cases, next to each other, and that you may have to read one of them and hold the other in mind until you can find a place for it. A well-trained mind can do this.

If we remember these few things about the order of adjectives and of relative clauses, we can usually read the Latin sentence through to the end, getting the meaning as we go. Often the verb will be the only thing that needs to be changed at all. We may be sure that the ideas have been presented logically and chronologically as the author meant them, and we ought to respect him enough to take them as he gave them. It is well to go as far as you can in the Latin order, not necessarily word for word, but idea for idea, and to bring up the verb, if you must, only when it comes in sight. My right eye, I am sure, runs ahead looking for verbs, while my left keeps me steady in the straight and narrow path of the sentence.

As everybody knows, Latin likes to close the sentence with a verb, which is, as it were, a sort of rear guard, keeping the rest of the words in order; or, to change the figure, the typical Latin sentence is a neat little box, enclosing, between the subject base and the verb lid, all the little things that go to make up a sentence. Sometimes we find a nest of boxes, neatly packed, one within the other: *Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et de hoste qui iam fatetur se esse hostem et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo?* The last part of that sentence you can enclose in brackets and parentheses until it looks like an algebraic formula. Three connecting words stand together, *quem, quia, quod*; three verbs are lined up, each in its proper place, at the end of its own clause. Compared with this the English, "an enemy whom I do not fear, because there is a wall between us, a thing which I have always wished," looks and sounds like a string of sausages.

But the Latin verb doesn't always come at the end of the sentence. It may even be the first word. What then? We found one such case the other day in Livy. The Sabines had just driven Romulus and his men from the foot of the Capitoline to the other end of the Forum. Romulus had raised his arms to heaven and prayed that Jupiter would stop the shameful flight. Then turning to his men, he cried, "From this point, Romans, Jupiter, best and

greatest, bids you stop (*resistere*).” The next sentence begins *Restitere Romani, restitere* emphatic of course. “The Romans *did* stop” may be a good translation, but Livy said something more like this, “Stop they did, those Romans.” Sometimes you can *feel* things in reading that get lost in translating.

I wonder sometimes why young students seem to have no feeling for the chronological order of events, something which the Latin sentence nearly always observes. If Livy says, *Pulso fratre Amulius regnat*, he means what he says—“Having driven his brother out, Amulius reigns.” That’s good English, and almost as terse as the Latin, and very easy to read. But I heard it recently, “Amulius reigns, after his brother has been driven out.” That English is doubtless syntactically correct, but Livy’s rhetoric is better.

There’s no reason why one should be afraid or ashamed to use an English participle, provided he uses it correctly. This suggests what I call the Golden Rule for translating the ablative absolute. This paper is not about translation, but I’ll throw this in gratis. “Know that it’s an ablative absolute, yourself, but translate so that no one else knows that you know it.”

The length of the Latin period often terrifies the young reader. Like a footsore traveler who has come to the banks of a wide but shallow river, he stands hesitant at the edge, sees the apparently dreary waste of words before him, overlooks the stepping-stones that dot the way, despairs of reaching the verb which marks the end, and finally abandons the effort, declaring that it’s all mixed up. Such an experience we had recently in the Livy class. There was *Numitor*, nominative, to start with. The first stepping-stone was *dictitans*, nominative agreeing with *Numitor*. There followed a *cum* clause closed by a subjunctive verb, then *postquam* with the indicative, an ablative absolute, two accusatives which would probably turn out to be direct objects, three indirect questions, another accusative, a short indirect statement, and finally the indicative verb which took care of it all, the verb for which *Numitor* had been waiting all the time.

It really wasn’t hard to read this, getting the meaning of each unit of thought as we went. And when we were through we found that Livy had given us a very lively picture of a rather long series

of events, all in one sentence. There was material enough for two or three English sentences, but this is what we saw: There was Numitor in the beginning of the confusion shouting that the enemy had invaded the city and attacked the citadel. We heard him summoning the Alban soldiers away from the palace to guard the citadel which didn't need to be guarded. Then Romulus and Remus, having murdered king Amulius, came to congratulate their grandfather, who called the Albans together and, in what must have been a rather long speech, told them the whole story from the beginning.

I have always wished that the Latin historians had told us more about Numitor. He seems to have been a nice old gentleman who had taken his deposition philosophically and had been living quietly in retirement on his farm. But he surely waked up in that sentence.

This is all very well for prose, somebody will say, but you can't read poetry that way. It's surprising how nearly you can do it. The interlocked order, synchysis, is about the only new thing that need be stressed; a single word will more often have to be held in mind until it can be used, but, in general, I think that, even here, the best and easy way to get the meaning is to read along in the Latin order. I open my Vergil at random—I actually did:

"Smiling down upon her, the father of men and of gods, with the look with which sky and storms he calms, kissed his daughter's pretty lips, then words like these he uttered: 'Spare your fear, Cytherea. There remain unchanged the fates of your people; never fear (that's *tibi*, the dative of reference). And *me* no purpose changes (*Neque me sententia vertit*). Other gods may change but not I, Jupiter, father of gods and of men.' "

That *me* reminds me of a struggle I had a few years ago with some members of an Ovid class who thought that the only place for a direct object was right after the verb. They didn't want to leave an emphatic *me* where Ovid had put it. A few days later I had occasion to read Tennyson's "Tithonus" to them. I had read it dozens of times before but never had the arrangement of its words struck me so forcefully and, may I say, so practically?

"The woods decay, the woods decay and fall,
The vapors weep their burthen to the ground,
Man comes and tills the field and lies beneath,
And after many a summer dies the swan,
Me only cruel immortality
Consumes."

Anaphora, chiasmus, "me" in the emphatic position, contrasted with all that went before. Of course, I did not fail to point this out, but I could see that some were still unconvinced. It was evident that they didn't think my English was as good as Tennyson's, but only that his was as bad as mine.

I should like to develop this subject a little further and show a little better than I have what Latin order *means*, how it manages to express shades of meaning which English leaves unsaid on the printed page, and trusts the voice to convey with the spoken word. But my paper is too long already, and I undertook only to show that Latin says what it means in an orderly and logical fashion, and that in that order it should be read.

Quod erat demonstrandum demonstratum est.

THE *BLITZKRIEG* IN CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS

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Lightning war, or *Blitzkrieg*, may be a new word today, but in itself it is by no means a modern invention. Seldom in all military history has it been practiced more effectively than by Caesar. In its 1941 model it uses dive bombers and tanks, machine guns and trucks. In 58 B.C. the weapons and means of transport were crude, but the strategy of *Blitzkrieg* was the same, and was equally effective.

What are the universal ingredients of *Blitzkrieg*? It may be summed up as "an extremely rapid and violent offensive, in which surprise plays a major rôle." Lightning strikes like a bolt from the blue. So does lightning war. The aggressor, by seizing and holding the initiative, never gives the enemy a chance, even if, as in Caesar's campaigns, the latter is far more numerous.

It is extraordinary that Caesar accomplished these military feats, beginning in his forty-third year, without much earlier military activity. Yet so skilfully did he practice the art of military leadership that Napoleon considered him a master to be studied by all future generations of soldiers. Evidently he followed the rules of strategy unconsciously, much as Monsieur Jourdain wrote prose, without knowing it. Since then these rules of strategy have been codified from the laboratory of military history by observing what methods have been successful, and what other moves on the military chess-board have been followed by defeat. So there is a sort of decalogue for soldiers to follow if they would gain the Valhalla of the successful general. But it seems to me the greatest of these commandments is "surprise," and the second is "mobility," or speed in the offensive.

It will, of course, be impossible to show how closely Caesar ad-

heres to all these guides of military conduct in war. I shall merely select some that are characteristic of *Blitzkrieg* from the many available examples in Caesar's campaigns in Gaul and against Pompey.

It will be helpful to consider briefly in what way surprise in war may be obtained. If we bring unexpected weapons against an enemy and demoralize him in that fashion, we surprise him. Caesar did this. If we mystify and mislead the enemy concerning the object of a move, he is likewise surprised. Caesar frequently did this. If we dare to do the impossible or even the improbable, the enemy doesn't expect this. Caesar frequently accomplished feats of such difficulty that the enemy regarded them as impracticable. Finally, if every action is done at an incredible speed, the enemy is once more caught off base, and the chances of defeating him are greatly enhanced.

One other factor that is absolutely essential in lightning war is the need for adequate supplies and a dependable line of communications. Is any other subject more frequently mentioned than Caesar's care for this important preliminary? In his first year of war in Gaul, what is his first objective after disposing of the Helvetians? For that campaign he had adequate bases in the Province. But when it became necessary to defeat the Germans to win the prize of Gaul, and thus to change his direction of advance, his first care was to establish a secure base of operations, a place where he could keep his stores, manufacture arms, and maintain base hospitals and replacement centers. Vesontio provided such a place. For this purpose it was the strongest and most strategically located of all Gallic cities, and incidentally secured a new defensive line along the Doubs-Saone-Rhone line that was far stronger than the old front in the Province, consisting of the Rhone and the Cevennes Mountains.

The opening phases of the Gallic War abounded in surprises and extraordinary mobility. On March 24, 58 B.C., the Helvetians were assembled near Geneva ready to start their emigration to the promised land that was Gaul. The unfortunate Gauls may not have been aware of the fact, but at this moment they were threatened from three points of the compass—from the direction of

Germany, Switzerland, and Italy—by three different sets of invaders. The Helvetians tried to move first, but they didn't know their Caesar. He got there first. He was far from meeting General Forrest's rule of "getting there fustest with the mostest men," but his arrival with marvelous celerity before the end of March with only one legion—the tenth, under Labienus—constituted a most unwelcome surprise to the Helvetians. Caesar, with immense and well justified confidence in his men, never worried about not having the "mostest men." He preferred quality to quantity. Caesar's five thousand men faced a military force across the river of at least forty thousand. He destroyed the bridge across the Rhone and negotiated with the Helvetians while he dug a Maginot line sixteen miles long south of the river. The Helvetians tested this line several times and found it too good for them. So they were forced to take the undesirable way through the Jura Mountains.

Caesar left Labienus in command on the Rhone, while he headed at top speed over the Alps to mobilize the rest of the army. He returned across the Alps with the five legions (seventh, eighth, ninth, and two new legions, the eleventh and twelfth) at the astonishing speed of fifteen miles a day over mountainous paths and in the face of hostile resistance, and united his forces of about 30,000 infantry and 4,000 Gallic cavalry near Lyons.

It is not possible to continue to examine in detail this first campaign. The speed characteristic of lightning war has been noted. It is typical of all Caesar's moves. The *COMMENTARIES* are full of such remarks as *magnis itineribus contendit* (a "forced march" was about twenty-four miles), and *Itaque admodum magnis diurnis nocturnisque itineribus confectis contra omnium opinionem ad Ligeroem venit.* (*B. G.* VII, 56.)

Let us note instances of surprise in this first book of the *Gallic War*. In addition to the initial surprise of arriving on the scene with the tenth legion, his speedy mobilization of his army and his rapid march in pursuit of the Helvetian host were equally unexpected. His surprise attack on a fourth of the Helvetians when the others had crossed the Saone, and the dispersal or destruction of this force, mark his first pitched battle. Other surprises that are noteworthy are the surprises of matériel. His pontoon bridge en-

abled the Roman army to cross the Saone in one day, an undertaking that took the Helvetians twenty days. Caesar expresses well the demoralization of the Helvetians following this feat, "alarmed at his sudden approach." (*B. G.* I, 13.) Another surprise that centered upon weapons occurred in the battle against the Helvetians, when the shields of the enemy were pierced and fastened together by a single javelin. This was accomplished by a technical development whose purpose was attained as Caesar describes it.

Caesar's bridge was as great a surprise, and it was built as rapidly as the German bridges of the recent campaigns. The unexpected effect of the new-model Roman javelin had as disastrous an effect on morale as the German dive bomber on the morale of the Polish soldier.

Instance after instance could be cited to develop this theme of surprise and speed. The teacher attempting to increase the pupil's interest in the Gallic War and emphasizing the reasons for the modern soldier's interest in Caesar's strategy, can point out many other similar instances. Of course the tactics of the modern battle has no resemblance at all to the ancient. But it is to the strategic maneuvers leading up to the battle that we should direct our attention to derive the lessons of military leadership for all time. We should measure time and space wherever possible in order to show the extraordinary speed of Caesar's moves, and his infinite capacity to mystify and mislead his enemy. A few other instances must be noted so that we may have no doubt that Caesar was one of the earliest practitioners of the lightning war. Several are to be found in the campaign of 52 B.C.; another when he began the Civil War by crossing the Rubicon.

Do you recall Caesar's one-man *Blitzkrieg* in February, 52 B.C.? Vercingetorix had established comparative unity for the first time in Gaul. His military policy was sound. His purpose was to destroy the legions before Caesar could return to lead them. Lucterius was detailed to defend the west. The Cevennes protected the south and east with their passes blocked by snow.

But with a personal boldness and initiative rarely equaled before or since, Caesar appeared at Narbo, the capital of the Province, with a remarkable plan of campaign. Friend and foe were

equally surprised at such speed and daring. With a small force of infantry and cavalry, he dug his way over the mountains and invaded the heart of the insurgents' country. The plan succeeded. Vercingetorix, fearing for the safety of his capital and supply base, moved south to defend it. This was what Caesar wanted him to do, and so with a handful of men in one bold thrust he achieved an incredible triumph. After only two days in this area, and after accomplishing his mission, he started on a bold and hazardous ride to join his legions.

Later on that year, at Gergovia, he made his famous march with four legions that covered fifty miles in about eighteen hours, one of the most remarkable feats in military history.

We shall conclude this catalogue of Caesar's lightning campaigns with a brief reference to the outbreak of the Civil War in 49 B.C. Caesar's strategic plan and its execution were brilliant and highly original. It was completed in the short space of three months. There is more speed, surprise, and accomplishment of what everybody would call the impossible in that brief time than in almost any campaign before the astonishing invasion of Poland in 1939. It was improbable because Caesar started in the middle of winter. Once again, with only a small part of his army, he penetrated the back areas, leaving the main forces in Spain to be assailed later, and by his lightning attack demoralized the high command of the hostile forces. Study this campaign to learn how a successful general combines tremendous speed with a clever utilization of time and space.

We see that the Romans conquered the world exclusively by their military training, their discipline, and their long practice in camp and active service. How otherwise could the small numbers of Caesar's army have prevailed against the multitudes of the Gauls? How otherwise could the short Romans have dared to attack the gigantic Germans? Obviously the Spaniards excelled us not only in numbers, but also in physical strength. We equaled the Africans neither in strategem nor in wealth; no one doubts that we are inferior to the Greeks in the arts or sciences.

So writes Vegetius in his praise of the Roman soldier. Of course Caesar's legionaries deserve this praise. But these fine characteristics as soldiers availed little when officers other than Caesar were

in command. Hence we are justified in attributing to Caesar's leadership the success of Roman arms in these campaigns. We have stressed certain phases of his strategy at the expense of others. There can be no objection to this, since the *Blitzkrieg* has shown today that surprise is the most important of the principles of war. By seizing the initiative, by speed and power in execution, Caesar did the unexpected, and by this means demoralized the enemy and won battles and wars. Stonewall Jackson in the Valley Campaign of 1862 demonstrated the same qualities as a leader. Superior leadership can gain superiority of force with inferior numerical strength.

Why has Caesar such a strong appeal as a soldier in spite of the fact that today's recrudescence of the imperialist spirit causes us to examine Caesar's invasions with a fresh outlook? Caesar's own personal safety was a matter of no importance to him. He ran even greater risks than he asked of his own men. His courage was prodigious. His record as a leader in war has few blemishes. Of course he made mistakes, but by his skill and daring he retrieved victory.

Finally, he never forgot the man in the ranks who in dust and heat, mud and freezing cold, had to carry out his general's orders. "Caesar ought to be considered guilty of the greatest injustice, if he did not esteem the lives of his men dearer than his own safety" (*B. G.* VII, 19). He sums up his conception of the duty of a good general in the first book of the *Civil War* where he writes (*B. C.* I, 72):

Caesar hoped to finish the business without fighting or wounds. Why should he lose any of his men even in a victorious battle? Why should he suffer his richly-deserving soldiers to be wounded? Why, finally, should he put fortune to the test? Especially, as it was a general's duty to win rather by strategy than by the sword.

If you examine Caesar's strategy in the light of these views, it is evident that lightning war made possible such economy of his soldiers' lives. Speed and surprise won him comparatively bloodless victories and have placed him securely among the world's greatest soldiers.

THE MUTE ALCESTIS

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Though many a scholar has been perplexed about the fact that after a certain point in Euripides' play of the same name Alcestis is mute, as yet no one has suggested a convincing solution why she is so. Certainly it is not because Euripides has to use for other purposes the actor who previously had been playing her part. Nor was her speechlessness a suddenly conceived device when at the end of the play he found himself confronted with the necessity of three rather than of two speakers. Her silence, we may be sure, means something. Throughout the play Euripides makes use of every opportunity to stress the dread of pollution innate in god as well as man. As early as verse 22 Apollo suggests leaving the home of Admetus before he is tainted by death. In *Antistrophe I* the elders call our attention to the fact that the cup of clear spring water, an antidote against death's taint, had not yet been placed in the gateway. When Admetus asks Heracles the reason for Alcestis' muteness he informs him, not in his usual bantering manner, but in all sincerity, that she must be "unconsecrated" to the powers below and that she may not speak "until the third day comes."

Nobody under a ban of pollution could address others until he had been purified. This custom is attested by the three great tragedians. In the *Eumenides*¹ we are told, "It is the law that he who is defiled by shedding blood is debarred all speech until the blood of a suckling victim shall purify him from murder." In *Oedipus Tyrannus*² the soothsayer rebukes Oedipus thus: "Thou alone did'st do the bloody deed. From this day on speak not to

¹ Vs. 448.

² Vs. 350.

these or me. Thou art the accursed polluter of this land." The defiled Orestes tells Iphigenia how everyone avoided and shunned him: "Thither I came, but no guest-friend would at first welcome me as one abhorred of heaven. Some pitied me; yet my fare set they out on a different table and by their silence banned me from all conversation."³ Helen absolves herself as well as Electra from the curse of pollution: "I consider myself unpolluted by thy speech since I lay all the blame on Phoebus."⁴ The frenzied Hercules is distressed when he finds himself in much the same predicament as Orestes: "Should I remain, what temple or religious ceremony would I attend? For I am guilty of a crime that forbids my being spoken to."⁵

Divinity did not seemingly invest one with immunity from contamination with death. Even to the eternal gods it was a source of impurity; so much so, that all the graves were removed from Delos in order to make it sacred to Apollo,⁶ and the dying were driven away from the shrines of Aesculapius—this, though he himself was a healer.⁷ The priestess of Artemis protects herself and her goddess by warning Orestes in no uncertain terms: "Artemis bars from her temples and considers polluted anyone whose hand is stained by the blood of man or who has touched a corpse."⁸ In spite of their omnipotence they could not escape the taint of death. They would desert a friend in need to avoid it. Just as Apollo forsook Admetus in order not to witness the death of Alcestis, so Artemis abandoned her devotee in time of great need to insure her own personal safety: "Farewell! I may not watch man's fleeting breath nor stain my eyes with the effluence of death."⁹ So fearful were the ancients of this particular kind of infection that distance meant nothing. Plutarch tells us that rites of purification were conducted for the living at Argos when it was reported that fifteen hundred men had been lost.¹⁰

By the simple act of cutting a few hairs from the forehead Death had consecrated Alcestis to the gods below. To absolve that consecration she must perform certain prescribed rites. Paley imagines

³ *Iph. T.* 947 f. ⁴ *Or.* 75 f. ⁵ *Her. Fur.* 1282-1284.

⁶ Polybius VIII, 30 and Pausanias I, 43, 3. ⁷ Pausanias II, 27, 1.

⁸ *Iph. T.* 381-383. ⁹ *Hipp.* 1437 f. ¹⁰ *Praec. Ger. Reip.* XVII, 814 B.

that Alcestis will satisfy the claims which the nether gods have upon her by expiatory and propitiatory rites; Monk, that she will perform rites opposite in nature to those whereby she was consecrated. Woolsey is the only editor, however, who has any definite idea how Alcestis was to sever her connection with Hades. He sees its solution in Plutarch's description of the manner in which one supposed dead rejoins the living. One of two methods he must pursue, either enter the house through the roof or undergo a ceremony symbolic of birth:

If the returned is really a ghost or infected with the pollution of death in some way, his entrance by this route (i.e., roof) will not pave the way for the entering of death by the door; and if he is alive and well, the process will presumably do him no harm. At least it will not hurt the family.¹¹

The precaution is prescribed not in the interest of the person returning but is enforced by relatives and probably for their protection. This may explain why the sick man referred to in Mark II, 1-4 was let down through the roof. Christ could more easily have performed his miracle out in the open, for the weather was fair if the assembled crowd is any criterion. On the other hand, he could have accomplished nothing if all the spectators had fled out of their fear of contamination. And so, since neither the superstition nor the remedy interfered with Christ's work, he passed it by without comment.

Pollution and contagion of death might also be neutralized by suffering rebirth:

When a certain Aristinus realized that those for whom a funeral or burial had been held were considered unclean and could not mingle with people even in a temple, he went to Delos to learn from the attendants of Apollo what ritual he must follow. The Pythian oracle replied: "To reestablish yourself with the eternal gods you must cleanse yourself by the same rites as a woman purifies herself after childbirth."¹²

Wytttenbach includes in his comment on this passage a similar story by Hesychius: "When Polemon, who had been regarded as dead, was ordered not to enter the temple, he darted through the folds of a woman's dress, as this was symbolic among the Athenians of being born again." Wytttenbach compares this practice with the

¹¹ Cf. H. J. Rose, *Roman Questions*.

¹² Plutarch, *R. Q.* 5.

rite of adoption by simulated birth, and it is, indeed, apropos. By just such a ceremony as this did Heracles himself become the foster son of Hera and Zeus and was thereby elevated to the rank of the gods:

Heracles mounted a couch and pressed close to Hera. She imitated real birth by letting him fall to the floor from the folds of her robes. This is exactly what the barbarians do when they wish to make somebody their son.¹³

Simulation of birth is still practised among the Bulgarians, Bosnian Turks, and Berawans. So in ancient Greece a man supposed erroneously to be dead was treated as dead by society until he had gone through the ritual of being born again.

In ancient India, under similar circumstances, the supposed dead man had to pass the first night after his return in a tub filled with a mixture of fat and water. There he sat with doubled fists and without uttering a syllable, like a child in the womb, while over him were performed all the sacraments that were wont to be celebrated over a pregnant woman. The next morning he got out of the tub and once more went through all the sacraments.¹⁴

Any number of religious sects make use of such a ceremony to denote new life. The Orphic tablets allude to a similar practice: "The initiate of the Orphic religion darts through the loose garment of the goddess of the underworld and is transformed into a god."¹⁵ In the Eleusinian mysteries we find an attempt at representing the return of Persephone to the upper world and to her mother. Even to the initiates of that day the performance must have appeared a little ludicrous, to judge from the following excerpt: "Do not laugh at the mysteries! Demeter is in travail, for Persephone is being born again."¹⁶ The method of regeneration among the Hindus was slightly different, but the fundamental idea is one and the same. They observed the tradition in spiritual rebirth. Three days after a priest had laid his hand upon an initiate, he (i.e. priest) was supposed to give birth to a Brahmin.¹⁷ Through a baptism of blood the devotee of Attis received new life, and to keep up the fiction of a new birth the initiate lived on milk for some time.¹⁸ The ritual

¹³ Diodorus Siculus iv, 40, 2. ¹⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough* I, 75.

¹⁵ Olivieri, *Lamellae Aureae Orphicae*: Bonn (1915), 4.

¹⁶ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protr.* II, 14.

¹⁷ Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*: Berlin (1910), 468.

¹⁸ Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*: London (1906), 172.

may undergo change from time to time, but the principle will ever be the same. The mystic rites, like Christian baptism, symbolize not only the death of a past life but the birth of a new one.¹⁹

Only two of the many editors of the *Alcestis* offer a suggestion as to the possible significance of "until the third day comes." Jerram thinks the number three may be used because of its well-known mystic character, or that it is, perhaps, an allusion to the sacrifice made to the dead on the third day after the funeral, or even to the offering due the deity on the third day after the death. From the enumeration of funeral ceremonies given by Pollux²⁰ we do not know whether the "trita" was held on the same day as the burial or three days thereafter. Stengel is of the opinion that it took place on the same day as the burial and was preceded by three days of fasting, during which period the mourners were regarded as unclean.²¹ The Roman rite of purification lasted three days and was followed by a banquet in honor of the dead.²² The "trita" was every dead man's due and an obligation which an expectant heir had better not leave undone, for a corpse has been known to complain because he thought he was being cheated of it. Lysistrata, for example, in talking to the magistrate whom the women have dressed up like a corpse, remarks: "You complain because we are not laying you out? Don't worry! On the third day the funeral feast, prepared by our own hands, shall be ready for you."²³ This passage implies two things: first, the importance of the "trita"; and second, that Aristophanes sets it on the third day after death. Non-fulfilment of such a rite might mean the forfeiture of an inheritance. The expectant heir, you will remember, in proof of this contention that he was the adopted son and recognized successor of a certain Menecles, testifies: "I myself buried him and performed the 'trita' and the 'enata' i.e. the ninth-day sacrifice."²⁴

It is my opinion that behind the belief in the presence of the dead at the "trita"²⁵ lies the assurance that not until that day did the

¹⁹ Eitrem, *Offeritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*: Cristiania (1915), 99.

²⁰ I, 8, 146. ²¹ *Die Griechischen Kultusaltertümer*: München (1898), 146.

²² Aulus Gellius xvi, 4. ²³ *Lysistrata* 611. ²⁴ Isaeus, *Menecles* 27, 46.

²⁵ Aulus Gellius xvi, 4; Cicero, *De Leg.* II, 25, 63; Stengel, *Die Griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, 156.

body and soul actually part company, and that for this reason the third day has become the traditional day of resurrection. Himp-ered as he was by the three unities, Euripides had to content him-self as well as his readers by stating that regeneration would re-quire three days, or what Woolsey terms "the day but one after." Innumerable examples prove such to have been the popular belief. This is exactly the period of time that elapses in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, in which Vergil illustrates concretely the doctrine of rebirth by the "katabasis" of his hero, Aeneas. Though this may be a mere coincidence, yet investigation might prove that the same is true of other "katabases." Our Lord, too, descended into hell and on the third day rose again from the dead. Man, too, has been seem-ingly dead for the same period; for an Athenian, Cleonimus by name, was so grief stricken and despondent upon witnessing the death of an intimate friend that he swooned. After he had been seemingly dead for three days, he was laid out according to the law. As his wife was removing the raiment to anoint his corpse, she detected a heavy breathing. Needless to say, the funeral, already under way, was halted. Still another such incident is recorded by Proclus:²⁶ "Rufus came back to life yesterday after he had been dead three days. He says that he has been sent back by the gods of the lower world to hold the games which had been promised his people. After the fulfilment of his promise he must die again." The popular belief that the soul of a man remains with his body for a period of three days may be hinted at in the legend of the raising of Lazarus: "Lord, by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four days." We see that the possibility of restoring life to the dead was accounted hopeless after the lapse of three days because by that time corruption had set in. It is easy enough to see how this belief won credence after the divine resurrection.

This idea is still made use of in ceremonies of regeneration. At puberty the boys of the Javanese race are admitted to their native association. The initiates are blindfolded and taken to a hut in the thick of the forest to remain from five to nine days. With the disappearance of each boy within the enclosure "a dull chopping sound is heard; terrible cries ring out and a sword or spear dripping

²⁶ *In Rem Publicam Platonis* 614, 2 ff.

with blood is thrust through the roof. This is a token that the boy's head has been cut off and that the devil has carried him away to the lower world, there to regenerate and transform him."²⁷ Although the rites themselves last from five to nine days, the men who act as sponsors return to the village on the third day to announce that the devil has restored the youths to life. "The faintness and muddy attire of the messengers convey the assurance that they have just returned from the lower world."

The above evidence substantiates my conviction that the phrase "until the third day comes" does not specify the time required for the ceremony or purification, but designates the traditional period during which the soul itself knows not whether it is to abide by or desert the body. This three-day muteness of Alcestis was not a "clumsy device" to overcome the lack of a third actor, but a clever and ingenious invention to glorify her resurrection amidst the stillness of the tomb.

²⁷ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I. 696 f.

TACITUS IN THE POLITICS OF EARLY STUART ENGLAND

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In the *New York Times Magazine* for June 12, 1938, President Hutchins reports that in a recent address before the Association of American Colleges former Chancellor Bruening of Germany "took the view that it was precisely because German higher education was non-intellectual that the German youth fell an easy prey to Hitler." Bruening concluded: "I am afraid that the present chaotic state of public life in most parts of the world is largely due to the fact that for the past decades humanistic education has been pushed increasingly into the background." Likewise the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for April, 1937, reported a cablegram from Berlin announcing the substitution of English for Latin and the elimination of Greek on the ground that "the old *Gymnasium* was too firmly founded on the core of purely classic culture for modern propagandistic training to fit well into the scene."

Tacitus in particular might fit the scene poorly. It is an irony of fate, however, that he has been interpreted to fit several incompatible scenes. Ramorino¹ concluded his outline of the influence of Tacitus through the centuries with a consideration of our modern scientific approach to antiquity, through which we see Tacitus perhaps painting the Caesars darker than was necessary, yet still moving the reader to detest vice and admire virtue. Earlier, both philosophers who stimulated the French revolution and victims of the Reign of Terror read him as a hater of tyrants. Recall, for instance, how the Jacobins sent Camille Desmoulins "straight to the scaffold, to teach him to go searching in the ancient historians

¹ Cf. Felice Ramorino, *Cornelio Tacito nella Storia della Cultura*: Milan (1898), 78.

for lessons of mercy and justice";² and then contrast the joy which Pope Paul III and Cosimo de' Medici reported on conning Tacitus, the mentor of the sixteenth-century Italian despot.³ Machiavelli in 1513 had both described such local tyrants and offered them techniques by which to grow more powerful, justly or otherwise; and from Tacitus, sometimes unnamed, he took a few illustrative hints, such as the "golden sentence" that men have to honor the past but conform to the present, in the Roman senator's admission that though he could not help wishing for good princes, he would bear with those that were bad.⁴ Machiavelli reminds his reader that it is much easier to repay an injury than a benefit, since gratitude is burdensome but revenge profitable,⁵ and informs the Prince that "of all human situations, the most transitory is a reputation for power which does not rest on its own strength."⁶ Machiavelli does not trouble about context; nor, usually, did other borrowers.

As absolute monarchy gained strength after Italy fell under Spanish influence in 1559, Tacitus was studied more and more as the expositor of the Roman monarchy and its excesses. Lipsius in his excellent commentary of 1589 estimates the position of Tacitus in Europe; it may be read in the following translation (about 1625) quoted from *The Method and Order of Reading . . . History*, by Degory Wheare,⁷ an Oxford professor:

Let every one in him consider the Courts of Princes, their private Lives, Counsels, Commands, Actions, and from the apparent Similitude that is betwixt those times and ours, let them expect the like Events; ye shall find under Tyranny, Flattery and Informers, Evils too well known in our times, nothing simple and sincere, and no true Fidelity even amongst Friends; frequent Accusations of Treason, the only fault of those who had no fault; the Destruction of Great Men in heaps, and a Peace more cruel than any War. I confess the greatest part of his History is full of unpleasant and sorrowful Accidents, but then let us suppose what was spoken by the dying Thræsea, spoken to every one of us: "Young Man, consider well, and though I implore the Gods to avert the Omen, yet you are born in those times that require the

² Cf. Gaston Boissier, *Tacitus*, tr. by W. G. Hutchinson: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1906), 159. ³ Cf. Ramorino, *op. cit.*, 40.

⁴ Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* III, 6, from Tacitus, *Hist.* IV, 8. ⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 29, from *Hist.* IV, 3.

⁶ Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, 13, from *Ann.* XIII, 19.

⁷ Ed. London (1698), 106-108.

well fixing your mind by examples of Constancy . . .," and to conclude, he is a wonderful Writer, and does most seriously do, what he seems not to make his business at all; for it is not only a History, but a Garden and Seminary of Precepts.

Wheare also quotes the opinion of Colerus:

Let Cornelius be always by thy side, that true Court Companion, nor is there any cause that our Centaurs and Rusticks should affright thee from him, who pretend that these Representations are too Ancient, and nothing like our Manners and Times. I say it is nothing so, there is the same Play still upon the Stage, the same Vertues, the same Vices are reacted, . . . only the Actors are changed, only here wants a learned and a wise Spectator.

Casaubon, on the other hand, feared the influence of "ill examples" which "hurt us for by little and little they sink into our Minds, and have the effect of Precepts, being often read or heard."

Into England seeped continental political theory. Although *The Prince* was not translated into English until 1640, probably it was read in Italian in the Tudor period.⁸ England also had Fenton's popular translation (1579) of Guicciardini's *Political Discourses on the Rule of Florence*.⁹ Guicciardini¹⁰ says that Tacitus instructs both tyrant and subject—the subject how to conduct himself prudently, and the tyrant how to found his tyranny. In 1603 the Anglo-Italian gentleman, John Florio, published his English version of Montaigne's *Essays* of 1595, which included the following anecdote concerning the French author:¹¹

I come lately from reading over (and that without any intermission) the story of Tacitus (a matter not usuall with me; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre together upon a booke), and I have done it at the instant request of a gentleman whom France holdeth in high esteeme. . . . His [Tacitus'] service is more proper to a crazed troubled state, as is ours at this present; you would often say, he pourtrayeth and toucheth us to the quicke.

In 1626, at the beginning of the second Stuart rule, Florio translated Boccalini's *News-Letters from Parnassus*, in which the Italian satirized the materialistic Machiavellian theory of the Prince and "sought to substitute Tacitus for Machiavelli as a political

⁸ Cf. Mary A. Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. (1916), 424. ⁹ *Ibid.*, item 323.

¹⁰ *Ricordi Politici e Civili*, 18.

¹¹ P. 201.

guide."¹² Thus a view of Tacitus as the foe of despots was for sale in English form just when the parliaments of Charles I were growing refractory.

Members of the court and of parliament obtained their quotations from Tacitus in more than one way. About 1630 John Hales, "the ever-memorable," in *The Method of Reading Profane History*,¹³ wrote to a middle-aged tutor of a young gentleman, "who in all likelihood will not be over-willing to take too much pains," to direct the making of a simple commonplace book on history. He says¹⁴ that Suetonius will open the way

to the reading of our Politician's great Apostle *Tacitus*. . . . But as for Tacitus, the chief cock in the Court-Basket; it is but meet you take special good advise in reading of him. . . . For since he is a Concise, Dense, and by repute a very Oraculous Writer, almost in every line pointing at some State-Maxim: it had been a good employment for some good Wit, to have expounded, proved, exemplified at large, what he doth for the most part only but intimate.

Repeated uses of the same tags from the "chief cock of the Court-Basket" suggest access to commonplace books; yet one of 2004 varied items, John Spencer's of 1658, has only seven attributions and some of these wrong. Bacon's early commonplace book, *The Colors of Good and Evil*, and his *Apophthegms* show no Tacitus, though he quoted Tacitus a great deal elsewhere and seems to have formed his terse, epigrammatic style on the Silver Latin of Tacitus and Seneca rather than on Cicero, the sixteenth century model.

It must not be supposed, however, that Tacitus was not read in the original, nor that the commentaries of scholars like Lipsius were without influence. Moreover, there was the vigorous English translation of all Tacitus, the first of its line, done partly by Sir Henry Savile and partly by Richard Greneway in 1591 and 1598. In his Dedication¹⁵ Savile says that Elizabeth holds Tacitus in great account; and A. B., probably the Earl of Essex, remarks:

There is no treasure so much enriches the minde of man as learning; there is no learning so proper for the direction of the life of man as Historie; there is no historie . . . so well worth the reading as Tacitus.

¹² Cf. Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England*: Cambridge, at the University Press (1934), 302.

¹³ Cf. *Golden Remains*, London (1673), p. 277.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 272 f. ¹⁵ Second Ed., London, 1598.

The rôles of Tacitus in early Stuart England have already been in part suggested. He served as guide to success at court; he became counsel for the theory of Divine Right; yet he fended for Parliament and the people, and vindicated tyrannicide. Bacon, bridging the Tudor and Stuart periods, well illustrates the first use of Tacitus. Certain of his *Essays* instruct the courtier: "Of Simulation and Dissimulation," "Of Great Place," and "Of Seditions and Troubles." Among the five quotations from Tacitus in the last-named essay alone, note the warning to treat princes with reverence as gifts from God and not to act *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent* ("unrestrained by reverence for the government").¹⁶ In *The Advancement of Learning* and its later Latin enlargement, *De Augmentis Scientiae*, some eight passages are quoted through which Tacitus may point some would-be courtier to success. Here is a sample:

Next to the well understanding and discerning of a man's self, there followeth the well opening and revealing a man's self; wherein we see nothing more usual than for the more able man to make the less show. Too there is a great advantage in the well setting forth of a man's virtues, fortunes, merits: and again in the artificiall covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces; staying upon the one, sliding from the other, cherishing the one by circumstances, gracing the other by exposition, and the like: wherein we see what Tacitus saith of Mutianus, who was the greatest politique of his time, *Omnium quae dixerat feceratque arte quadam ostentator* ("having a certain art of displaying all he said and did"); which requireth indeed some art, lest it turn tedious and arrogant.¹⁷

In his own life Bacon played the courtier with Tacitus' assistance. Following the death of the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cecil, in 1612, he openly applied for his position, being really the ablest candidate, though not naturally in line because he was only a state lawyer. He wrote:

I will be as ready as a chessman to be wherever your Majesty's royal hand shall set me. Your Majesty will bear me witness, I have not suddenly opened myself thus far. . . . I see the distractions and I fear Tacitus will be a prophet, *magis alii homines quam alii mores*.¹⁸

¹⁶ Cf. *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath: Boston (1861) xii, 125; and Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, 4. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vi, 372, and Tacitus, *Hist.* ii, 80.

¹⁸ Cf. Edwin A. Abbott, *Francis Bacon, An Account of his Life and Works*: London (1885), 180.

(In *Histories* II, 95 Tacitus had lamented that in one year the country experienced a repetition of Otho, with his freedmen and informers, in Vitellius—"other men, not other manners.") Again in 1616, after the fall of the most learned jurist, Sir Edward Coke, whom James removed from the chief justiceship of the King's Bench because he was not docile, Bacon sought the post, writing:

But while your Majesty peruseth the accounts of Judges in circuits your Majesty will give me leave to think of the Judges here in his upper region. And because Tacitus saith well *opportuni magnis conatibus transitus rerum*, now, upon this charge . . . I shall endeavor, to the best of my power and skill, that there may be a consent and united mind in your Judges to serve you and strengthen your business.¹⁹

Thus Otho's shrewd remark that times of change favored great undertakings becomes in Bacon, the opportunist, an argument that he be appointed chief justice of the King's Bench on promise of satisfactory judicial decision!

Tacitus provided Bacon with a two-edged argument with which he attempted to entice the King and the difficult Parliament of 1610 into better harmony. In his speech to the King on behalf of the Commons, as His Majesty's Solicitor, Bacon flattered James by comparing him to Nerva and Trajan, who united two incompatibles, *imperium* and *libertatem*, a compliment given, he said, "by one of the wisest writers to two of the best emperors."²⁰ Then in the same parliament he urged the Commons to desist from further question of receiving the King's messages, quoting the same word-picture of reconciliation.²¹ Note that in 1625 this very motto was offered by Sir Heneage Finch, speaker for the Commons, for the consideration of newly-crowned Charles I.²²

Of the Stuarts themselves I cannot find that Charles was a student, or quoted Tacitus. His father James' *Basilikon Doron* or *Precepts on the Art of Governing*, written to his young hopeful, Henry, is full of marginal parallels naming Tacitus but of such vague connection that one suspects additions by a show-off. At any rate, Tacitus was in style! Prince Henry poured over the *Agricola* when

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 254, and Tacitus, *Hist.* I, 21.

²⁰ Cf. *The Works of Lord Bacon*, ed. Bohn: London (1854), I, 483, and *Agr.* 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 488.

²² Cf. *Rushworth Historical Collections*: London (1682), I, 204.

challenged by his friend, Sir John Harington; previously he had heard Tacitus "represented by everyone, as a writer of admirable sagacity, and full of short and pointed sentences, but too obscure in his style for my capacity."²³ Harington's tutor, James Cleland, in his *Propaedeia, or the Institution of a Young Noble Man*,²⁴ advised the young gentleman to read Tacitus. Cleland²⁵ praised James in 1607 with the phrase from Tacitus which Bacon in 1605 had applied to the King in the dedication of *The Advancement of Learning*. Bacon's words of euology run thus:

And for your gift of Speech, I call to mind what *Cornelius Tacitus* saith of *Augustus Caesar*, *Augusto profluens et quae principem deceret eloquentia fuit*. . . . Your Maiesties manner of Speech is indeed Prince-like, flowing as from a Fountain, and yet streameth and brancheth itself into Natures order, full of Facility and Felicity, imitating none, and inimitable by any.²⁶

Twenty years later mourners at James's funeral heard Archbishop John Williams²⁷ praise both Solomon and James with an interpretation of these same words.

The Stuart party, defending the divine basis of monarchy, curtailed liberal influence at Cambridge. In 1626 Dr. Matthew Wren, Dean of Windsor, wrote to both of Charles's advisers, Bishop Laud and the Duke of Buckingham, concerning the first two lectures of a visiting professor appointed to Lord Brooke's newly-endowed chair of history at Trinity College. Thomas Fuller summarized the case in his *History of Cambridge*²⁸ thus. Dr. Isaac Dorislaus was

a Dutchman, very much Anglicized in language and behaviour. However, because a foreigner, preferred to that place, his lectures were listened to with the more critical attention of Cambridge auditors. Incomparable Tacitus he chose for his subject; and had not yet passed over those first words, *Urbem Romanam primo reges habuere*, when some exception was taken at his comment thereon. . . . Being bred in a popular air [Holland], his words were interpreted by high monarchical ears, as over-praising a state, in disgrace of a kingdom. Hereupon he was accused to the king, troubled at court, and, after his submission, hardly restored to his place.

²³ Cf. Thomas Birch, *Life of Prince Henry*: London (1760), 121.

²⁴ Cf. ed. Joseph Barnes, Oxford (1607), 149. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 150.

²⁶ *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding, etc., VI, 88, and *Ann.* XIII, 3.

²⁷ Cf. *Somers Tracts*: London (1809), II, 43.

²⁸ Cf. ed. James Nichols: London (1840), 229.

Thus the professor almost lost his job from a naïve explication interpreted as radicalism.

The fact that the Stuart party feared the vitality of ancient Tacitus is illustrated ten years later, when Charles was ruling without the embarrassing help of Parliament. An entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1637²⁹ summarizes:

Suggestions from a person whose name does not appear, who having read over during his holidays the *Annals* of Tacitus with the Annotations of Lipsius, published in small 4to in 1619 at Geneva, points attention to certain passages which he termed seditious, and wishes the book to be suppressed.

Sacred orators, representing the state church of England, naturally argued and enjoined belief in a divinely-founded monarchy. James Ussher, the learned and loved Irish Bishop, wrote *The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject* at the special command of Charles I, who, having read the manuscript, "signified his will and pleasure that it should be printed; to the end that all his beloved subjects might receive the like satisfaction from the same, as he himself had done"; but somehow the copy for the printer was lost, "or pretended to be lost,"³⁰ so that it did not get abroad, nor the Tacitus in it, until after the Restoration. At the beginning of the Restoration the power of the Prince is emphasized by Jeremy Taylor in *A Rule of Conscience*, dedicated to Charles II in 1659, and he too rifled Tacitus.³¹ The political Archbishop William Laud used tags from Tacitus in the sermon opening Charles' second Parliament in 1625; he preached unity with the Commons that new Britain might not defeat itself like the old Britons *quod factionibus et studiis trahebantur*. . . . "But I pray what is the difference for men not to meet in Council, and to fall in pieces when they meet? If the first were our forefather's error, God of his mercy grant this second may not be ours."³² Note also that while writing the history of his troubles and the long trial

²⁹ *Domestic Series*, 1637-38, 71.

³⁰ Cf. *The Whole Works of James Ussher*, ed. Charles Elrington: Dublin (1864), xi, 229; Pref. by Robert Lincoln (1660).

³¹ Cf. *The Whole Works of Jeremy Taylor*, ed. Richard Heber: London (1822), vol. xiii, *passim*.

³² Cf. *The Works of William Laud*, "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology": Oxford (1847), i, 69, and *Agr.* 12.

preceding his execution in 1644, Laud seems to have Tacitus much in mind. Here is the conclusion of his defense before the Puritan House of Commons: "In these last full four years' durance, I thank the same God *gravem fortunam constanter tuli*, I have with decent constancy borne the weight of a pressing fortune; and I hope God will strengthen me unto and in the end of it."³³

To return to conditions in 1625, Tacitus appears also for the non-Catholic parties. Concerning Parliament's fear of Richard Montague's allegedly Popish and seditious writings,

Sir Edw[ard] Coke spoke of the danger that growes by divisions in matters of religion, reciting the censure of Tacitus upon the old Brittaines, *Raro conventus ad propugnandum commune periculum; dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*, findeth fault with the course now used for every particuler (*sic*) man to put out bookes of all sortes: wisheth that none concerning religion might be printed but such as were allowed by the Convocation.³⁴

This particular lesson from Tacitus was well known, although usually more literally applied than against a free religious press. While the first period of the Thirty Years' War was raging on the Continent, Protestant England feared that Catholic Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II, would overthrow Protestantism on the Island. In 1620 John Chamberlain wrote Sir Dudley Carleton that unfortunately the Prince of Transylvania had been split off from Frederick V of Bohemia, James' son-in-law. "It is manifest the Imperialists have gone beyond them in breaking the knot of the confederacy . . . for Tacitus makes it the old dispute, both of that country and ours, *dum singuli pugnant, omnes vincuntur*."³⁵ And with the identical epigram Count Mansfield in 1624 won from James some English troops for an ill-fated expedition on behalf of the Protestants.³⁶

The most notable debtor to Tacitus in the parliaments of Charles was Sir John Eliot. His enthusiastic biographer, Forster, describes the effect of books on him thus: "For quickness and completeness

³³ *Ibid.*, iv, 410, *History of the Troubles and Trial of Archbishop Laud*, and *Ann.* vi, 22.

³⁴ Cf. Samuel S. Gardiner, *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625*, "Camden Society, New Series" (1873), 69, and *Agr.* 12.

³⁵ Cf. Robert F. Williams, *The Court and Times of King James the First*: London (1849), II, 201.

³⁶ Cf. *Calendar of State Papers, "Venetian Papers"* (1623-25), 295.

of classical allusion, Eliot had no rival in parliament. . . . Nothing of the past was dead to him. The life that burnt into the page of Tacitus, was the same that still heated and stirred the world about him."³⁷ After quoting Tacitus on numerous occasions, Eliot made a great stir with the epilogue of his speech of May 10, 1626, which led to the impeachment of the unpopular Duke of Buckingham. "Of all the precedents I can find, none so near resembles him as doth Sejanus, and him Tacitus describes thus," said Eliot, quoting and translating from the character of Sejanus at the beginning of the fourth book of the *Annals*. He concluded: "In his public passages and relations he would so mix his business with the prince's, seeming to confound their actions, that he was often styled *laborum imperatoris socius*: and does not this man do the like? . . ." When the reference to Sejanus was reported to the King, he was "extraordinarily moved." " 'Implicitly,' he exclaimed, 'he must intend me for Tiberius!' and hurried to the lords."³⁸ (Charles may have remembered Ben Jonson's play *Sejanus* from 1603.) Eliot was arrested, but soon released through pressure from the Commons. Nothing daunted, he struck again at Buckingham during the third Parliament of 1628. Thomas May wrote in his *History of the [Long] Parliament*.³⁹

The freedom that Sir John Eliot used in parliament was by the people in general applauded, though much taxed by the courtiers, and censured by some of a more politic reserve, (considering the times,) in that kind that Tacitus censured Thræsea Poetus (*sic*), as thinking such freedom a needless, and therefore a foolish thing, where no cure could be hoped by it: *Sibi periculum nec aliis libertatem*.

True enough, after the dismissal of Charles' last parliament for eleven years, Eliot's audacity sent him to prison, where he died in 1632. But in the Tower he wrote his *Monarchie of Man*,⁴⁰ in which Tacitus is quoted some thirty times to help prove that the best sort of government is, like England's, a monarchy, yet one in which the king exists for the subject, and both for the state; the king, not being omniscient, must bind himself by laws and govern with a

³⁷ Cf. John Forster, *Sir John Eliot: A Biography*: London (1864), I, 9 f.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 549 f. ³⁹ Ed. Oxford (1854), 14. Cf. *Ann.* xiv, 12.

⁴⁰ Cf. ed. Alexander B. Grosart, (1879).

parliament, for if he rules alone, the misery experienced in Rome under the tyranny of a Sejanus may spring up.

The court severely punished the extreme Puritan, William Prynne, for his attack on the theatre as the seat of loose morals in *Histriomastix* or *The Player's Scourge*.⁴¹ Prynne said that play-house censors should not be branded as Puritans or Precisians only—behold his huge list of ancient censors. Tacitus is one of many authors constantly employed to fill out the endless argument, written, said the King's attorney, in language "like the oyster-women at Billingsgate."⁴² Prynne was certain that the country itself was growing corrupt from plays, as did Rome after Nero forced Roman nobles and Roman ladies on to the stage. Since the ladies of Charles' court had recently acted in a masque, Prynne was tried in the Star Chamber for treason, attacked chiefly for a passage in which he calls three Romans, who assassinated a bad emperor, worthy, "as Flavius and others conspired *Nero* his murder for the selfsame cause."⁴³

Though Ussher and Taylor argued it unlawful to kill a king, a Captain Titus, aiding a certain Sexby to express his hate of the Protector, in 1657, found it lawful to kill a tyrant like Cromwell, according to the opinion of most celebrated ancient authors. In their pamphlet entitled *Killing no Murder* we read:⁴⁴

I shall not give you any of my own stamping. . . . Almost all Tyrants have been first Captains and Generals for the People, under Pretences of vindicating or defending their Liberties. *Ut imperium evertant, Libertatem preferunt; cum perverterunt, ipsam aggrediuntur*; says Tacitus, to subvert the present Government, they pretend Liberty for the People; when the Government is down, they then invade that Liberty themselves: this needs no Application.⁴⁵

And several other pat quotations from Tacitus follow.

The Puritan scholar, Milton, effectively attacked the habit of quoting Tacitus out of context; replying to Salmasius' *Defence of*

⁴¹ Cf. ed. London, 1633, *passim*.

⁴² Cf. *Rushworth Historical Collections* (1721), II, 225.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 235 f. Cf. *Ann.* xv, 65, 67, for the failure of Flavius.

⁴⁴ Cf. C. H. Firth, *The Last Years of the Protectorate*: London, Longmans, Green (1909), I, 225.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Political Pamphlets*, IX (Cornell University Library), "Killing no Murder," No. 7, p. 13, and *Ann.* XVI, 22.

the King, Milton wrote in 1650, in his *Defense of the People of England*.⁴⁶

"But Tacitus," say you, "that lived under the government of a single Person, writes thus: *Principi summum rerum arbitrium dii dederunt, subditis obsequii gloria relicta est.*" But you tell us not where Tacitus has these words, for you were conscious to yourself that you imposed upon your Readers in quoting them; which I presently smelt out, tho I could not find the place of a sudden: For that Expression is not Tacitus's own, who is an approved Writer, and of all others the greatest Enemy to Tyrants, but Tacitus relates that of M. Terentius, a gentleman of Rome, being accused for a Capital Crime, amongst other things that he said to save his life, flattered Tiberius on this manner. It is in the *Sixth Book* of his *Annals*. . . . If you had read Tacitus himself, and not transcribed some loose quotations out of him by other authors, he could have taught you whence that Imperial Right had its Original.⁴⁷

The Earl of Clarendon, though Anglican and royalist, served as spokesman for the people's hate of civil war. To his enforced absence from England we owe the famous *History of the Rebellion*. While preparing the first part in 1647-48 Clarendon says he "read over Livy and Tacitus, and almost Tully's works,"⁴⁸ and planned to eulogize his dead friend, Lord Falkland, in imitation of Tacitus' praise of Agricola, a plan beautifully carried out. He writes Dr. John Earles "I am contented you should laugh at me for a fop in talking of Livy and Tacitus,"⁴⁹ and promises that his reading, parallel to his recording a modern civil war, shall not pepper his history with pedantry. Passing up a number of telling quotations and anecdotes from Tacitus, I shall conclude my sketch with Clarendon's jeremiad of true Tacitean gloom, which ends the eleventh book of the *History of the Rebellion*, a passage adorned with fragments from the *Agricola* (2, 3) and the *Histories* (1, 28):

So ended the year of one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest villainy and most bloody treasons, that any nation was ever cursed with or under; a year in which the memory of all the transactions ought to be rased out of all records, lest, by the success

⁴⁶ *The Works of John Milton*, ed. J. Mitford: London (1851), viii, 150 and vi, 110. Cf. *Ann.* vi, 8. I have used the English translation for parts not by Tacitus.

⁴⁷ Milton traced Salmasius' idea of imperial right to *Ann.* i, 4, 1 and iii, 26, 3, showing that the quotations out of context gave a false picture.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Clarendon State Papers*: Oxford (1773), ii, 375.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, 386.

of it, atheism, infidelity, and rebellion should be propagated in the world, and of which we may say, as he said of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio, etc.*; or as the same writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Cf. Edmund Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. D. Mackay: Oxford (1888), iv, 511.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

JOHN BUCHAN, CLASSICIST¹

I find in John Buchan's delightful book, *Pilgrim's Way*, many interesting comments on the beauty and power of classical study. These are weighty and convincing, coming from a man whose life was full of action and whose facile writings cover many fields of interest. As he recalls scenes of his life's pilgrimage from the woods and streams of the Border country, from home life, university years, South African experiences, the World War, friendships, or even from his visit to America, he sometimes speaks directly of the value of Greek and Latin studies; more often a happy comparison or a phrase reminds us that in spirit he was never very far from the ancient world. I have brought together some of these comments and comparisons in the belief that they will be of interest to those who read the classics.

His world of childhood, he tells us, was dominated by the woods, which he filled with imagery of fairy tales and of the Bible. Later, after he came to know the classics, he thought that in the woods of his Border country "was the appropriate setting for pastoral, for the shepherds of Theocritus and Virgil, for the lyrists of the Greek Anthology, and for Horace's Sabine farm." Even as a man he clung to this idea of linking "philosophy and terrestrial objects," so that the Socratic arguments are linked with the upper Thames and "the works of Aristotle are forever bound up with the smell of peat reek and certain stretches of granite and heather" in the moorlands, where he spent long vacations. In South Africa on the Veld he found that Euripides was the only author whose writings were not

¹ Permission to use material from John Buchan's *Pilgrim's Way* (1940) has been very kindly granted by the Houghton Mifflin Company, of Boston, publishers of the book.

irrelevant to the surroundings and "to a world so superbly impersonal."

Although he had read very widely from many authors, Buchan says that in his seventeenth year he found "his first real intellectual interest in the Latin and Greek classics." Credit for his early Latin training he gives to his father, who was a classical scholar and a great reader. To Gilbert Murray he expresses gratitude for an understanding of the Greek spirit. In the chapter called "*Porta Musarum*," he states effectively the value of classical study:

This preoccupation with the classics was the happiest thing that could have befallen me. It gave me a standard of values. To live for a time close to great minds is the best kind of education. . . . The classics enjoined humility. . . . I learned sound doctrine—the virtue of a clean bare style, of simplicity, of a hard substance and an austere pattern. . . . I lost then any chance of being a rebel, for I became profoundly conscious of the unalterable law. . . . Indeed, I cannot imagine a more precious viaticum than the classics of Greece and Rome, or a happier fate than that one's youth should be intertwined with their world of clear mellow lights, gracious images, and fruitful thoughts. They are especially valuable to those who believe that Time enshrines and does not destroy. . . . And I do not think that the mastery of other literatures can give it in a like degree, for they do not furnish the same totality of life—a complete world recognisable as such, a human world, yet one untouched by decay and death.

From Buchan's Oxford days comes the story of the Horace Club with its meetings in a garden at Magdalen and its menu of nuts, olives, fruits, and so-called Falernian, balanced by poetical compositions. It was at Oxford that he decided to enter the legal profession, having come, under the inspiration of Grennidge, to take a great interest in the Greek and Roman systems of law.

Again he turned to the reading of Latin and Greek classics during the World War. His own illness, deaths of relatives and friends, the futility of war, depressed him greatly and "to speak of war seemed a horrid impiety." "That was perhaps why," he says,

I could not open Homer. . . . I read and re-read Thucydides, for he also had lived among crumbling institutions; Virgil, for he had known both the cruelty and the mercy of life; Plato, above all, for he was seraphically free from the pettinesses which were at the root of our sorrows. These are beyond the caprice of time.

In his comparisons of places and people to those of the classical world we feel Buchan's sensitive response to the classics. I have selected a few of these from various parts of *Pilgrim's Way*. Of his home at Elsfield he says: "Elsfield was like the dwelling of Axylos, the son of Teuthras, in the *Iliad*, a house by the roadside." Out of his visit to America comes the following observation: "In America the kitchen is not too far away from the drawing-room, and it is recognised, as Heraclitus said, that the gods may dwell there." Of Lord Milner, under whom he served in South Africa, he says: "Here was Plato's philosopher-turned-king, a scholar who in his middle forties had made history." His friend, Auberon Thomas Herbert, he describes as "a gypsy to the core of his being": "To see him at a party was to get some idea of how Marius looked among the ruins of Carthage." Among other tributes to Raymond Asquith is this: "He was a fine classical scholar, at once learned and precise; . . . he wrote good poetry, Greek, Latin, and English." To express the loss of Thomas Arthur Nelson, killed at Arras, he finds the Latin language more expressive: *Heu! quanto minus est cum reliquis versari quam tui meminisse*. The life of Edward Grey with its tragic reversal of fortune reminds him of the "eerie words" of Herodotus: "I know that the gods are jealous, for I cannot remember that I ever heard of any man who, having been constantly successful, did not at last utterly perish." From the charming character sketch of his mother there are these words: "She feared praise as the Greeks feared Nemesis."

Even in the realm of sport Buchan found pleasure in transferring literary expressions to the world of nature:

. . . there was a short spell just before the dark when no fish would take. . . . But there would come a time when there seemed to be a sudden hush in the world, when nature was "breathless with adoration" and the trout had halted to reflect on their sins. It was a time which I associated with that magical word *εὐφημία*, which Plato uses in the *Phaedo*. . . . With salmon it makes no difference, they being brazen creatures from the outer seas. . . . It is not for nothing that in the Sixteenth *Iliad* Homer applied the epithet *λεπός* to fish.

"To anyone whose imagination has been caught by ancient Rome, one picture must keep recurring." With such words Buchan begins a chapter of family recollections. He calls to mind first the

picture of a Roman living-room in a modest country house, with the wax images of ancestors by means of which the Roman child was taught that his ancestors were still a part of the family. "Piety was nourished not by the memory only, but by the eye." So Buchan seems to feel that as the years pass, family recollections become clearer than scenes of every-day life.

It is in the same spirit of reminiscence that the author comes to the end of *Pilgrim's Way* in a chapter called "The Other Side of the Hill." He repeats the idea expressed in the first part of the book that the classics of Greece and Rome are most valuable for those "who believe that Time enshrines and does not destroy." For him the love of the past was both a creed and a pleasure:

If the past to a man is nothing but a dead hand, then in common honesty he must be an advocate of revolution. But if it is regarded as the matrix of present and future whose potency takes many forms but is not diminished, then he will cherish it scrupulously and labour to read its lessons, and shun the heady short-cuts which end only in blank walls. He will realise that in the cycle to which we belong we can see only a fraction of the curve, and that properly to appraise the curve and therefore to look ahead, we may have to look back a few centuries to its beginning.

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

LIVY, With an English Translation by FRANK GARDNER MOORE, "Loeb Classical Library," Vol. VI: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1940). Pp. x+519. \$2.50.

This volume contains Books XXIII, XXIV, and XXV and covers the period from 216 to 212 B. C. Both text and translation are scholarly and meticulously accurate. The editor has shown an exceptional ability to make a literal translation without the use of stilted phraseology and without a confusing reproduction of long and complicated sentences. There are almost no omissions of words or phrases. In fact, virtually every word in the Latin text is represented in the translation.

In reviewing a book so uniformly correct it is hardly worth while to call attention to questionable readings, which are largely matters of personal opinion, and to trivial errors in translation. However, perhaps the paucity of such criticisms may serve to emphasize the excellence of the volume as a whole. In XXIII, 5, 1 *poterat* is perhaps better than *poterant*, and in XXIII, 30, 7 *vacua* is better than *vasta*. In XXIII, 34, 12 *parum aptum* seems preferable to *parum*. In XXIV, 8, 20 *utilia* should probably be printed after *clades*. In XXIV, 47, 3 *portae* seems better than *portam*.

In the translation the peculiar expression *the Trasumennus* for *Trasumennus* occurs twice—in XXIII, 2, 3 and XXIV, 30, 12. In XXIII, 15, 6 the word should be "thirty," not "three hundred." In XXIII, 19, 12, "crates" is a doubtful translation for *cratibus*. In XXIII, 34, 6 there is an incomplete sentence. In XXIII, 47, 4 there is a

question whether *inter se ludificantes* can mean "eluding each other." In xxiv, 3, 8 *per dolum* is omitted in the translation. In xxiv, 45, 2-5 there are two excessively long and somewhat confusing sentences, the only instances of this common fault in the whole volume. In xxv, 3, 19 *Fabius* should be *Fulvius*. In xxv, 5, 6 the first *alteros* should be translated.

Besides the usual Index of Names the volume contains five excellent maps, which provide necessary and adequate geographical material for the study of the events of the three books, and also an admirable Appendix on the topography of Syracuse, based in part upon the work of Fabricius.

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LIVY, With an English Translation by EVAN T. SAGE and ALFRED C. SCHLESINGER, "Loeb Classical Library," Vol. XII: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. vii + 521. \$2.50.

This volume contains Books XL, XLI, and XLII, and covers the period from 182 to 171 B.C. At the time of his death in 1936 Professor Sage had prepared the Latin text of these three books and the translation through XLII, 21. The volume has been completed and edited by Professor Schlesinger, of Oberlin College.

In this volume there are more textual problems than in the earlier books of Livy, especially in Books XLI and XLII, which are preserved in only one manuscript, and that carelessly written and incomplete. The editors have been conservative in their treatment of these problems and have shown excellent judgment in their choice of variant readings. In this brief review it would be impossible to discuss even the few readings that seem to me doubtful. I may mention, however, XL, 57, 3; XLII, 23, 5 (*esse, se*); and XLII, 59, 7 (*clamaret, et*) as questionable.

The translation is of the same general character as that in the earlier volumes; that is, it is accurate and very literal, in fact, almost a word for word translation, so far as that can be accomplished without doing violence to English grammar and rhetoric. In some respects there is improvement. Whereas in earlier volumes there were frequent unintentional omissions—sometimes even of

whole sentences—in this one such omissions are very rare. I have noted only the following: XL, 41, 5 *omnibus*; XL, 54, 5 *regibus*; XLI, 28, 8 *consulis*; a remarkable record, when compared with an average of twenty-six unintentional omissions in each of three previous volumes. Another improvement in the translation is the almost total elimination of excessively long and complex sentences. I have listed only five of these: one sentence, in XLII, 8, 4 ff., fills eighteen lines and is very confusing. In the matter of proof-reading the whole book has been carefully edited. I have noted only sixteen misprints, a small number in the first edition of a book of more than 500 pages.

At the risk of seeming hypercritical I may call attention to a few passages where the translation appears to me to be more or less incorrect. In XL, 2, 2 *forem* is probably a "door," not a "door-post." In XL, 6, 1 it would be better to translate "the head and fore part." In XL, 27, 13 the old stock translation of *ultro*, "of their own accord" gives a wrong idea; "actually" would be better. In XL, 54, 3 we find that very questionable adverb "firstly." In XLII, 1, 10 the translator has inserted the words "The senators generally," which do not appear in the Latin text. In XLII, 57, 12 *conversuros aciem* certainly means only "face about," not "turn the tide of battle." In XLII, 59, 4 *inclinata re* means "when the rout had begun," not "when the decision had been reached." In XLII, 63, 2 *pravo* would better be translated "unreasonable" rather than "morbid" and *deteriori* "inferior" rather than "worse."

There are four maps—Italy, Greece, The Mediterranean World, and The City of Rome—and it is a real pleasure to say that they are in every way admirable. Every place mentioned in the text appears on one or another of the maps, and, if the exact location of the place is unknown, it is listed in the margin of the proper map. I have examined the maps with some care and have found nothing inaccurate or even questionable except the location of Munda in Spain, which I think is placed much too far north. These really remarkable maps add immensely to the usefulness of this excellent book.

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TANZER, HELEN H., *The Common People of Pompeii; A Study of the Graffiti*, "The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology," No. 29: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1939). 8vo., pp. xii + 113, illustrated. \$3.00.

Professor Tanzer's long-continued studies in Roman Life have yielded another crop in this serviceable volume, to which the subtitle does not do full justice, since the treatment of inscriptions is profitably connected here with the interpretation of frescoes and drawings. The book is well calculated to quicken interest among teachers in what they may have left too much to specialists. Every visitor to Pompeii is impressed by the "handwriting on the wall," but seldom is one able to bring even a small part of this ample material together into anything like a picture of daily life among everyday people. This is just what has been done in the present volume with no small measure of success. The several chapters cover the principal trades and other occupations, together with the spectacles and popular interests. Illustrations, forty-nine in number, are scattered through the book. One would have liked to see more of the recent photographs, say from Della Corte's guides, e.g. of a reconstructed mill in operation in place of Mau's restoration (fig. 9).

Naturally, in view of the scrappy material, opinions as to the interpretation of particular inscriptions or the use here made of them will often differ. In the inscription quoted on p. 52 and tacitly emended (*nongentum* to *nonaginta*, without warrant), so that this notice is said to offer "ninety shops" to let, the words *venerium et* are passed over and Della Corte's explanation is overlooked. That master of the graffiti connects this advertisement with the club of the *Iuvenes Venerii et Nongenti Pompeiani*, who had Venus as their patroness. Their hall is on the Strada dell' Abbondanza, not far from the property of the lady in question, which was close to the amphitheater. That is, *nongentum* is to be understood with Momm-
sen of young men on the list of jurors.

There are not a few statements which provoke question. Thus to degrade Falernian wine to one kind of Vesuvian (p. 37) seems gratuitous. On p. 60 *ensor*, twice mentioned in graffiti, is not necessarily a *ensor agrarius*, since there were several kinds of

mensores, including practical architects. The *siparium* in the theater (p. 71) seems to be confused with the *aulaeum*, which did fall into a pit (not a "groove") in front of the stage. On pp. 73 f. *Campani* surely means "men of Capua," not "men of Campania," since Pompeii itself was in Campania, and the Capuans are always *Campani*, not *Capuani*, in the classical period. On p. 51 the reader is puzzled by a reference to "the earlier eruption of Mount Vesuvius," and later (p. 95) by "the very lava that destroyed," etc.

The list of market days given on p. 56 from a graffito, with an added remark, "From this we see that Saturday was Market Day at Pompeii," makes one wish that inevitable misunderstandings had been forestalled by some statement in regard to the gradual change from the eight-day week of Roman standard usage to the seven-day planetary week (*dies Saturni, Solis*, etc.). Evidence for that change is extremely scanty at so early a date, a fact which gives this graffito an extraordinary importance.

A full Bibliography, List of Inscriptions, and Index add much to the usefulness of the book and prompt the user to further studies.

FRANK GARDNER MOORE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ARISTOTLE, *On the Heavens*, With an English Translation by W. K. C. GUTHRIE, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1939). Pp. xxxvi+379. \$2.50.

This capable translation of an important physical treatise underscores the need for revising our estimates of Aristotelian science in the light of modern knowledge. In the popular mind, Aristotle is famous chiefly for glaring "mistakes" which had to be "corrected" during the Renaissance, although Renaissance science itself is today in utter disrepute. From the Copernican point of view, it is a serious error to put the earth at rest in the center of the universe; yet modern astronomy finds a stationary sun equally ridiculous, and, as Bertrand Russell has somewhere remarked, the theory of relativity simply makes a heliocentric system more convenient for calculations taken on our globe. Similarly, Aristotle is still impugned for his ignorance of the "laws" of inertia and gravitation, although the work of Galileo and Newton seems to be largely dis-

credited by the new physics. Aristotle thought, falsely of course, that heavier bodies fall faster, but he knew, quite rightly, that falling bodies do not fall in parallel lines. In his doctrine of natural movement he is just as explicit about the elimination of force as Einstein is in his formulation of the geometrical theory of gravitation; yet Aristotle is still being criticized for not arriving at a mechanical view which has itself been superseded. On the other hand, little attention has been paid to his rejection of the atomic theory which, if we subscribe to the discoveries of quantum physics, is an important blunder. Clearly, Aristotle's position is badly in need of rehabilitation: his great contribution to the history of physical science is surely his emphasis on the fundamental character of the problem of motion.

Like most of the Loeb Aristotle, this book is well constructed. In a short Preface Mr. Guthrie acknowledges his use of Bekker's text and of D. J. Allan's frequent improvements upon it in the Oxford text. He expresses his "greatest debt" to the Oxford translation of J. L. Stocks. The Introduction contains an outline of contents and an able essay on "The *De Caelo* in Relation to Aristotle's Philosophical Development." His conclusion is that the *De Caelo* represents a "transitional stage" between the views of the *De Philosophia* on one hand and the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* Δ on the other. His "conviction" is against an unmoved mover in the *De Caelo*, although he discusses three passages which imply its existence, as well as some ten cross references to the *Physics*, which is supposed to be a later work.

The translation of each chapter is preceded by an outline and an interpretation of its argument. There are copious footnotes to the translation with excellent diagrams and frequent references to the *Physics* and to Plato's *Timaeus*; the names of Cornford, Ross, Stocks, Allan, Heath, and of course Simplicius, appear most often in support of Mr. Guthrie's opinions. A reference to the *Parmenides*, however, is in order at 298b20-25. There is an admirable minimum of notes to the Greek page, indicating only slips in Bekker's text and variants from it. The English Index is satisfactory, but the Index of only eighteen Greek words, mostly those which have required explanation in footnotes, seems hardly adequate.

The translation itself is sturdy English and, although it seldom achieves the concise quality of Aristotle's Greek, it conveys his meaning with brilliance and accuracy. Mr. Guthrie consistently turns σῶμα as "body," ἔλη as "matter," and οὐσία as "substance," but he has a good deal of reasonable trouble with τόπος, οὐρανός, μέσον, and συνεχές. His τὸ εἶδος ἐν τῇ ἔλῃ as "form-in-matter" (*sic!*) seems to me over-ingenuous, but εὐδιαίρετον as "fissile" and ἔλλεσθαι as "winding" (it is usually translated "swinging" or "sliding") are interesting. Transliteration is sometimes necessary, but I see no need for Latinizing αἰών as "aeon," while αἰθήρ remains "aither." Mr. Guthrie's punctuation is usually helpful, but a parenthesis is needed in both texts at 311b5-10. The proof-reading has clearly been done with great care; I notice only two ugly slips: "places" for "place" on p. 173, and a misplaced semicolon before "caelo" in the quotation from Ovid in the note on p. 180.

VAN JOHNSON

TUFTS COLLEGE

GRAY, LOUIS H., *Foundations of Language*: New York, The Macmillan Company (1939). Pp. xv+530. \$7.50.

It is a pleasure to encounter a learned work that deserves to be heartily recommended. This volume presents an integrated survey of the provinces of general linguistics. It is designed for the use of all classes of readers, whether college students, specialists, or interested laymen, nor are the qualities lacking that adapt it to perform this manifold function. The style is crisp, clear, and vigorous, and maintains itself as such to the end. The author prides himself upon definitions and here and there resorts to the use of italics to place fundamental principles in a strong light. Specimen (293): "*To make a scientific etymology, all the data, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic, both for and against, must be weighed; and evidence must be sought from non-linguistic sources wherever possible. It is not enough merely to consult grammars and dictionaries, but the actual texts, wherever they exist, must be read in their original languages or dialects.*" The author himself quotes from 200 languages.

These merited words of praise need not imply that the author

will escape adverse criticisms from specialists, who, as a class, are quick to challenge trespassers. As a Latinist, for example, I would never think of translating (209) *gratias agam si dicas* "I shall be grateful if thou may say," but such exceptions do not invalidate the broad merits of the book. Here is available in condensed shape the whole gadgetry of this newest of linguistic studies. The Index of 70 pages will guide the novice to the meaning of *morpheme*, *phoneme*, *semanteme*, and *epithetologue*. He will not find the interesting *caballus* there, because this manual treats of *langage*, not *langue* or *parole*. He will not be discouraged by footnotes, of which there is but one, and even the bibliography is embodied in the text. Arbitrary signs and diacritical characters are neatly tabulated. Each chapter is complete in itself and preceded by an analysis. It is therefore unnecessary to read the book consecutively: the semantist or syntactist will find his chapter readily; physiology, psychology, and sociology are not overlooked; language is defined for those who like subtleties, and the history of the study is outlined for those who derive more satisfaction from erudition.

In this field we now have a larger number of highly qualified specialists than ever before. The dearth is in middlemen and general practitioners. For these classes reliable handbooks are indispensable. This manual fills one of the wider gaps and deserves the warmest of welcomes.

NORMAN W. DEWITT

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
VICTORIA COLLEGE

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

"Papyrus" Project

In describing the writing material of the Greeks and Romans, it is sometimes difficult to enable students who have never actually seen any papyri to form an actual picture of it. Here is a method of producing a very excellent imitation. Take some perfectly dry and whitened husks which sheath an ear of ripe corn and dampen them. Then iron them flat with a moderately hot iron. Trim the individual leaves to regular rectangular size, about 6" by 2". Place two or three of them together side by side in a vertical position to form the 'verso,' choosing the heavier and coarser specimens. Take a smooth leaf of prepared corn-husk, coat it with some rubber cement,¹ and press it at right angles at the top of the three vertical and adjacent strips of corn husk. Repeat the process with another strip of corn-husk placed immediately beneath the first traverse strip and so on until the result is a sheet about six inches square, with the coarser strips running vertically and the smoother ones horizontally. Roll this flat and trim the edges. Sandpaper the surface of the horizontal fibers with a very fine grade of sandpaper until smooth. The result is a very perfect reproduction of an ancient papyrus sheet.

¹ *Para-Lastik* is excellent for this purpose.

For writing use either a heavy black drawing ink or a homemade reproduction of ancient ink made of thin mucilage and lampblack. A very soft coarse pen is best. While it is possible to recreate an ancient reed pen, the results are generally not very satisfactory.

After the material is ready, it is an interesting exercise to copy onto this "ancient" material a few lines of Vergil. If the instructor will examine some book like E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, or the article "Palaeography" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he can select and copy an alphabet taken from a manuscript of some period and use this as a model from which the students may imitate on 'papyrus' a page of an ancient manuscript.

W. E. B.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

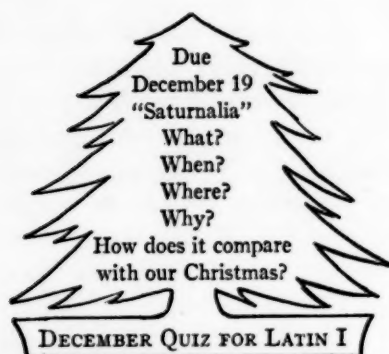
How to Bring the Christmas Spirit to Your Latin Classes

Harriet Echternach and Elizabeth Joiner of the Sterling Township High School, Sterling, Illinois, not only feel the necessity of showing their pupils and community that we have Latin around us every day—and thus that Latin is practical, but they are remarkably successful in actually accomplishing this. Their energy and ingenuity are well demonstrated in their departmental program for the month of December.

BULLETIN BOARD

Since classroom time does not permit much recitation upon Roman civilization, Miss Echternach has evolved a plan which has worked out satisfactorily in practice. Each month there is placed on the bulletin board a poster she has made for the topic of the month, together with quotations, pictures, reading references, etc. These are always due at the end of the month. When completed, they are kept in a notebook.¹ For example, she has made a poster for December in the shape of an evergreen tree. Large and green, this is put on red cardboard which bears the references. The following directions for the topic of the month are written on the Christmas tree:—

¹ For those who use Miss Echternach's *Workbook* (for notice of which cf. *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXVI [1940], 183 f.), the studies are to be pasted along the yellow strip left after the vocabularies are removed.



Answer the following questions:

1. If you ever saw Santa Claus dash off the roof of your house, write "no" below in spaces 4 and 9 and 12. If not, write the nominative plural ending for all neuter nouns.
2. If December is colder than July, write the genitive singular ending of second-declension nouns in spaces 1 and 11.
3. If you like Christmas candy better than mosquitoes, indicate by writing the personal ending, first person singular active, in space 2.
4. If Christmas comes before Thanksgiving, write Z in space 6; if it comes after, write U.
5. If reindeer are used on the Sahara, draw a picture of one in space 8, otherwise write N.
6. If there are more days in December than in April, write the personal ending second singular active in space 3.
7. If St. Patrick is not connected with Christmas, write the last letter of the Latin verb for "he is" in space 5.
8. If Christmas is closer to Ground Hog Day than it is to the Fourth of July, write the first personal singular ending passive voice in space 7.
9. If Shakespeare did not write "The Night Before Christmas," put the first letter of the Latin verb "praise" in space 10.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Answer: IO SATURNALIA

"SATURNALIA" GREETINGS

Table-top photography solves the problem of making appropriate greeting cards that you may be sure your pupils will long cherish. Miss Echternach has mounted on a white card (6"×4") a small picture (2½"×3¼") in dull finish and

with rippled white border. Typed below the picture is the greeting, "Io Saturnalia et habeatis Beatum Annum Novum—Magistra tua." For pupils in Latin I, she has taken a picture of five Roman dolls (an *imperator*, girl with water jar, orator holding scroll and having a *scrinium* at his feet, *legatus*, and matron); for Latin II, a picture of Roman artillery models made by pupils in Latin II and III; for Latin III and IV, similarly suitable subjects.

No doubt the "Papyrus Project" described in the first article of this section will suggest another type of hand-made greeting which would be both novel and genuinely classical.

The American Classical League Service Bureau² is again offering a selection of handsome, moderately priced Latin and Greek Christmas cards.

LATIN CLUB MEETING FOR DECEMBER

Latin pupils at Sterling Township High School carry away from their Christmas party a favor to show their family and friends and to put in their memory books. Each receives a program mimeographed on green paper cut to the outline of a potted Christmas tree (about 10" by 7" at the widest point), with a touch of red pencil giving candlelight to the tip of each branch. Last year's program, which included the names of those taking part, had at the top the words IO SATURNALIA in a straight vertical line down the middle of the sheet; under this A.D. IV ID. DECEMBRIS, as the date of the meeting happened to be December 10; then a program consisting of ten items:

Negotium,
"Sancta Nox,"
Modern Customs from the Saturnalia,
A Roman and an American,
Christmas Compared,
"Adeste Fideles"—Trio,
Rome's Part in the Christmas Story,
Carmina,
Mutatio Donorum,
Edamus,
Saltemus.

A Christmas Pageant

Miss Glenda Gilmore, Warren, Pennsylvania, generously shares with us this pageant, which was put on very effectively under her direction last Christmas. Her addition of Latin parts from the Vulgate makes this adaptation of a familiar Christmas pageant most appropriate for a December program of the Latin department or club.

² Address: New York University, Washington Square East, New York. Write direct for description and order blank.

WHEN CHRIST WAS BORN

CHARACTERS: Historian, five shepherds, boy, five angels, Holy Family.

MUSICIANS: Organist, quartette, violinist.

(The program opens with appropriate music by the organist. Near its close, the Historian enters, going to right front. He is dressed in a long loose garment and headdress similar to that of Hosea in the "Frieze of the Prophets." He carries a scroll made from a piece of heavy paper and two round sticks. As the music ceases, he raises his scroll to a reading position, and narrates the first few lines.)

HISTORIAN: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." *(Pause.)* His birth was on this wise *(Reads.)*:

"Factum est autem in diebus illis, exiit edictum Caesare Augusto ut describeretur universus orbis. . . . Et ibant omnes ut profiterentur singuli in suam civitatem. Ascendit autem et Ioseph a Galilaea de civitate Nazareth in Judaeam in civitatem David, quae vocatur Bethlehem . . . ut profiteretur cum Maria desponsata." *(Remain in position during the following song, then resume the reading.)*

QUARTETTE *(at left front)*: Two verses, "O Parve Vice Bethlehem."

HISTORIAN: "Et pastores erant in regione eadem vigilantes, et custodientes vigilias noctis super gregem suum. Et ecce angelus Domini stetit iuxta illos, et claritas Dei circumfulsit illos, et timuerunt timore magno. Et dixit illis angelus: Nolite timere; ecce enim evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo." *(Exit.)*

(Enter Zarah, an elderly shepherd. His hair and beard are white; he wears the conventional garb of a shepherd and carries a staff in his hand. Entering at right, he crosses platform and pauses just beyond the center, well toward the front. He places both hands on his staff, as though leaning upon it, and gazes out into space. After a moment, four other shepherds and a boy enter.¹ The men start to cross stage, but as they reach the center, Amon, who is in the rear, speaks.)

AMON: I will keep the next watch. Rest ye here awhile. Ye must be weary after that long search for the sheep that went astray. *(At his first words the other shepherds stop and turn toward him.)*

JOEL: It was a long way we had to go, over hills and crags. But we found the sheep, so we can rejoice, even though we are weary and footsore.

AMON: Rest ye awhile. I'll call if aught disturbs the flock. *(Crosses platform and leaves stage at left. The other shepherds drop to the ground. The boy goes over to the elderly shepherd, looks at him, then turns his own face upward.)*

THE BOY: How bright the stars are tonight!

¹ Although no boy is mentioned in the biblical account, one might easily have been present, since Hebrew children were sent to care for the sheep, as in the case of David. To introduce a child adds interest to the scene.

ZARAH: Aye, "the heavens declare the glory of God." Jehovah speaks to his children from the sky. (*Turns toward the boy.*) This night . . . (*Pauses, surprised by the bright light which is illuminating the place, at extreme right. This can be arranged by a flood light or a spotlight. The angel steps into this light. Amon rushes in from left, but stops near the entrance, just within sight. The shepherds on the ground come to a sitting position, gazing with fear and wonder at the angel.*)

THE BOY: Oh! Oh!

ANGEL: "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger." (*Four other angels, in white robes, enter from the right and group themselves close about the first angel.*)

ANGELS: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

(*The light is taken off. Exeunt angel and chorus, right. Slowly the shepherds rise to their feet and gather about Zarah, who has not moved.*)

AMON: Was it a vision?

ZARAH: Aye, the Lord hath spoken; He hath remembered Israel. Let us go into Bethlehem and see this thing that hath come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. (*As he starts toward right entrance, the boy slips his hand into that of Zarah. Other shepherds follow.*)

QUARTETTE: "Adeste Fideles."

HISTORIAN: "Factum est autem, cum essent ibi, impleti sunt dies ut pareret. Et peperit filium suum primogenitum, et pannis eum involvit, et reclinavit eum in praesepio: quia non erat eis locus in diversorio.

"Et pastores venerunt. . . tinantes, et invenerunt Mariam, et Iosephum, et infantem positum in praesepio."

QUARTETTE: "Sancta Nox."

(*During this song the curtain is opened very slowly, disclosing the manger scene. The audience should be given a moment or two in which to take in the tableau. Then the shepherds appear just within the right entrance. They pause and gaze at the manger. Slowly Zarah advances, leading the boy. The other shepherds follow in awe and wonder. Zarah takes his hand from that of the boy and salutes Mary and Joseph by a gesture of the hands as he inclines his body. Then he looks at the manger.*)

ZARAH: The manger! (*Glances within it.*) The Babe in swaddling clothes! It is even as the angel did say. The Saviour has come. (*Falls upon his knees, as do the other shepherds and the boy. After a moment, Zarah rises to his feet; the others follow his example. All look toward the manger.*)

ZARAH (*Turning toward the men*): Let us go and publish the good news abroad. (*Shepherds nod heads in agreement and all leave the platform, Zarah leading,*

the boy last. The violinist, who has been playing softly all through the nativity scene, continues the music until all the men are off the platform.)

MARY: (*Looks into manger, then rises and looks out into space over the heads of the audience and speaks very distinctly.*): "His name shall be called Jesus."

QUARTETTE: Italian Lullaby, "The Virgin and the Crib." (By Nicholas Montani.)

HISTORIAN (*Returns and speaks*): And so the prophecies were fulfilled and Jesus, the Saviour of the world, was born. Through all the years that have passed since that holy night, men have sought the Saviour, have found him, and have sung praises unto him.

QUARTETTE:² "Joy to the World."

² Audience may be invited to join in singing.

Current Events

[Edited by George E. Lane, Thayer Academy, Braintree, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russell M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Our Southern Section

On account of the fact that the parent Association meets in the spring at New Orleans there will be no meeting of the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South this year. This notice is being printed at the request of Professor Alfred P. Hamilton, of Millsaps College, president of the Southern Section, who is very eager to have every one of our members from the South who possibly can do so make his arrangements to be at New Orleans.

Connecticut

The annual meeting of the Connecticut Section of the Classical Association of New England was held at the Loomis Institute, Windsor, Saturday, October 18. The morning session was devoted to an address of welcome by N. H. Batchelder, Headmaster of Loomis Institute, and two papers. These latter were, "A Latin Teacher in Japan," by Professor R. W. Scott, Trinity College; and "Ancient Invasions of Britain," by Dr. R. I. W. Westgate, of Phillips-Andover Academy. The papers of the afternoon session were, "Time and the Odyssey," by Professor Barbara McCarthy, of Wellesley College; and "Excavations of Troy," by Dr. Jerome Sperling, of Yale University.

Georgia—Shorter College

The students of Shorter College, Rome, Georgia, gave their first Greek play (in English) Saturday, March 22. Their choice was *The Trojan Women*, of Euripides. Though the play was directed by Mrs. Allie Hayes Richardson and Miss June Pearson, of the department of Speech, all the other arts departments coöperated, as did the whole student body.

We regret that this report has been delayed in reaching the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, but congratulate the faculty and students of Shorter College upon the success of their effort. There can be no fitter time to present the bitter experiences of women caught in war.

Maine—Colby College

The host of friends of Professor Wilbert L. Carr, who this year became Professor Emeritus of Latin at Teachers' College, Columbia University, will be glad to know that he has been appointed to the Taylor Professorship of the Latin Language and Literature at Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

Massachusetts

The Western Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England held its thirty-fifth annual meeting at Smith College, October 11. At the morning session President Herbert J. Davis, of Smith College, delivered an address of welcome, after which there were three papers: "Julius Caesar's Technique of Leadership," by Lincoln D. Granniss, of Williston Academy; "The Diffusion of the Cult of Atargatis," by Francis R. Walton, of Williams College; "Walks in Ancient Rome, 1939," by Howard H. Morse, of Mount Hermon School. In the afternoon there was a business meeting followed by an address by Theodore Erck, of Vassar College.

Tennessee—George Peabody College for Teachers

On May 8, 1941, the Board of Trustees of George Peabody College for Teachers passed a resolution that, when a certain sum of money should be contributed, it would proclaim that "a Chair for the teaching of Classical Languages and Literatures and related subjects has been established and will always be maintained as a course of study offered by George Peabody College for Teachers, and is designated 'The Charles Edgar Little Chair of Classics' in honor of a great teacher who for a half-century profoundly influenced the development of his Alma Mater and of culture and learning in Southern Education."

As an old student of Dr. Little's, as a former colleague in the Peabody faculty, and as a friend of many decades, the Editor of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL wishes publicly to express his own debt of gratitude to Dr. Little both as man and as scholar, and to congratulate the trustees of the George Peabody College for Teachers upon their very appropriate acknowledgment of the worth both of Dr. Little and of the classical culture which he represents.

When apostles of the all-important present are incessantly casting doubt upon the worth of what men—even the best men—have thought in the past, when the story of the advance of the human spirit is cast aside as though past effort and success were no fit guide or even a help for the present, when our colleges for teachers are one after another abandoning their departments of classics, it is very inspiring to know that the most important single center of leadership in sound teaching in our Southern States has determined that classical culture shall always be upheld and that a representative of that culture shall in the future, as Dr. Little has for the past fifty years, forever hold high the torch of classical learning.

E. T.

Language Statistics, Kansas High Schools, First semester, 1939-40

Number of high schools teaching Latin:	Number of Latin Teachers:	
Senior High..... 280	Senior High.....	296
Giving 1 year..... 238	Junior High.....	26
Giving 2 years..... 164		
Giving 3 years..... 33		
Giving 4 years..... 7		
Junior High..... 24		
Number of Senior High Schools giving Latin only.....		205
Number of Senior High Schools giving Modern Languages only.....		40
Number of Senior High Schools giving both Latin and Mod. Languages.....		73
Number of Junior High Schools giving Latin only.....		19
Number of Junior High Schools giving Modern Languages only.....		0
Number of Junior High Schools giving both Latin and Mod. Languages.....		5

Enrollment by years

Senior-High-School Latin		Senior-High-School French	
First year.....	6,107	First year.....	875
Second year.....	3,200	Second year.....	370
Third year.....	418	Third year.....	22
Fourth year.....	85	Total in Senior High Schools	1,267
Total in Senior High Schools	9,810		
Senior-High-School Spanish		Senior-High-School German	
First year.....	1,745	First year.....	409
Second year.....	675	Second year.....	205
Third year.....	26	Third year.....	4
Total in Senior High Schools	2,446	Total in Senior High Schools	618
Total in Senior-High-School Modern Language (French, Spanish, & German).....			4,331

<i>Junior High Schools</i>		<i>Grand Totals, Senior and Junior High</i>	
Latin	1,629	Latin	11,439
French	58	Modern Languages	
Spanish	119	(French, Spanish, & Ger-	
German	32	man)	4,540
Total in Junior High:			
Latin	1,629		
Mod. Languages	209		
Average Hours of Teacher Preparation for Latin Teachers		24	
Average Salary for Latin Teachers (Latin only, or in combination) ..		\$1,304	

Compiled by W. L. HOLTZ, *Kansas State Teachers' College of Emporia*

Kansas—W. L. Holtz

In the death of Professor W. L. Holtz, reported to this office as having occurred about June 1, the cause of the Classics in Kansas and in a broader circle has sustained a distinct loss. At the time of his death he was Chairman for Kansas of the Committee on the Present Status of Classical Education, and in this as well as in all other work he undertook he was doing a thorough job. He was also Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri. We are sorry that at this time we have no further details.

Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri

The Classical Association of Kansas and Western Missouri held its thirty-fifth annual meeting at Lawrence, Kansas, with the University of Kansas as host, March 29. The program follows: Frederick M. Derwachter, William Jewell College, "Emperor Worship: Ancient and Modern"; L. R. Lind, University of Kansas, "Educational Psychology in the Works of St. Augustine"; Sister Marie Antoinette, Marymount College, "A Review of Max Radin's *Marcus Brutus*"; Katharine M. Morgan, Southwest High School, Kansas City, "Headlines from Tacitus"; W. Falkenrich, Hutchinson, "Lessons in Citizenship from Cicero"; William A. Oldfather, University of Illinois, "The Increasing Importance of Greek and Latin for the Understanding of English"; Henry J. Haskell, Editor of the *Kansas City Star*, "Ciceronian Rome and Georgian England," read by Mrs. Haskell; William A. Oldfather, "Recently Proposed Causes for the Fall of Rome." Professor Oldfather also spoke before the English faculty and students majoring in English on the afternoon of March 28 on "Levels of Culture," in which he compared the mind and taste of the common man in antiquity and in America today.

Louisiana—Grand Coteau

We give this program in Latin just as it was received: Solemnis Disputatio, ab Auditoribus Rhetoricae, ante diem tertium Nonas Maias, 1941, Habenda, in Collegio Sancti Caroli, Grand Coteau, Louisiana. Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam. Propositio Defendenda: *Scholae Nostrae sunt Nostrum Apostolatus Medium Efficacissimum*. Praest Disputationi, D. Roccaforte; Defendunt: Primus, D. Heiter; Secundus, D. Fineran; Tertius, D. Moody; Impugnant: Primus, D. Coon; Secundus, D. Yamauchi; Tertius, D. Erichson. Sententia Judicium.

Texas

The Texas Classical Association will hold its annual meeting in Houston on November 21 in connection with the convention of the Texas State Teachers' Association. The officers for the biennium just closing have been: president, Mrs. Marian C. Butler, Waco; first vice-president, Miss Cora Pearl Penn, Houston; second vice-president, Miss Lucy Moore, Coleman; secretary-treasurer, Miss Nell Ingram, Longview.

The following program will be presented: 9:00-9:30, Business Session; 9:30-10:30, *Fervet Opus*: The Texas State Junior Classical League," Jimmie Fogartie, president, Longview; Third- and Fourth-Year Latin in the Lamar High School, Miss Cora Pearl Penn, Houston; "Latin Week," Mrs. Jessie Snyder, Cleburne; "Press Publicity for Latin," Miss Doris Thompson, Waco; 10:30-11:00, Discussion; 11:00-11:30, "Nature Similes in Vergil," Miss Dora Flack, Technical High School, Dallas; 11:30-12:00, "Semantic Changes in Latin Verbs of Thinking," Dr. O. S. Powers, University of Texas; 12:30, Luncheon at the Lamar Hotel, toastmaster, Dr. W. J. Battle, University of Texas; speaker, Dr. O. W. Reinmuth, University of Texas; song leader, H. E. Gibson, Lutheran College, Seguin.

Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

[Compiled by Professor Adolph Frederick Pauli and John William Spaeth, Jr.,
of Wesleyan University.]

The American Scholar x (1941).—(Spring: 170–183) Albert Guérard, "International Language and National Cultures." The author advocates the development of an "international auxiliary language," is opposed to "the adoption of any national language for international purposes," would approve the revival of Greek and Latin for such use only if they were "sweepingly modernized," and cites with praise Esperanto, Occidental, and Latino. (184–193) Walter Lippmann, "Education vs. Western Civilization." This article was published in *The Commonweal*, January 17, 1941, pp. 322–325, under the title "Education Without Culture." It was noted in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxxvi, 445.

The Art Bulletin xxii (1940).—(December: 197–269) Rensselaer W. Lee, "*Ut Pictura Poesis*: The Humanistic Theory of Painting." Included in this long article, with thirty-two illustrations, is a detailed discussion of the classical background. "Chiefly responsible without question was the authority of two ancient treatises on literature: Aristotle's *Poetics*, and Horace's *Ars Poetica* . . . Now the analogies between poetry and painting that these famous treatises contained could not fail in a humanistic age to impress critics who sought to invest painting with the dignity of a liberal art . . . Horace's preponderant influence with the critics . . . had the general result, on the whole unfortunate, of directing the Aristotelian theory of imitation into channels of formalism or didacticism." xxiii (1941).—(March: 16–44) Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, "The *Imagines* of the Elder Philostratus." A detailed analysis, illustrated with five plans. The author believes: "First of all that, at least as far as . . . cyclic relations exist, the paintings which Philostratus describes were real; secondly, that at least in some cases, they were arranged in several superimposed rows, each of which was connected horizontally as a decorative entity or a unit of subject matter; finally that again, at least in some cases, the cyclic representations were disposed around a room or hall so that at the end a spectator would be close to the point from which he started."

College English ii (1941).—(March: 568–583) Frederic R. White, "Historical Studies and the Humanities." Although concerned specially with research in the field of English literature, the discussion should be of interest to stu-

dents of the classical literatures. The author condemns "as uncritical and unintelligible the type of research . . . wherein literature becomes merely a collection of historical documents. . . . We can at least question that scholarship which makes no pretense of illuminating literature, and I fancy that much which is trivial and irrelevant is so just for this reason: that it has forgotten or denied the original purpose of scholarship in the humanities . . . had it not been for centuries of misinterpretation of (Aristotle's discussion of imitation) . . . the present confusion" might not have developed.

Foreign Affairs xix (1941).—(April: 530-550) Frederick H. Cramer, "Demosthenes Redivivus: A Page from the Record of Isolationism." The career of Demosthenes is described as a struggle against isolationist pacifism at Athens, and as a great statesman's campaign to arouse a democracy to timely action against the menace of Macedonian autocracy. By telling the story with the phraseology used to describe the national and international turmoils of our day the author emphasizes his interpretation of Philip of Macedon as a striking prototype of Hitler. There are many quotations from the speeches of Demosthenes. (597-608) C. H. McIlwain, "Our Heritage from the Law of Rome." This article discusses the English legal tradition "that Roman on its political side is the synonym of absolutism. . . . Our heritage from Roman Law is very great, and it has not been appreciated. Dr. Cowell was right in saying that our common law was a 'mixture' of the Roman and the feudal. The common lawyers who opposed him were right in defending the common law as 'the wall betwixt the King and his subjects.' But they were wrong, as Fortescue before them was wrong, in holding that the central political principle of the Roman Law was the despotism of the maxim that what pleases the Prince has the force of a *lex*; and wrong also in believing that the English common law could include none of it."

The Fortnightly, No. DCCCLXXXVII, N.S. (1940).—(November: 482-489) W. L. Carter, "In Search of Flowers." Notes on "botanical travels" in certain Mediterranean regions. One of the author's interests is "to examine the sites mentioned by ancient and classical writers, with special reference to the flowers, herbs, and plants named as growing there."

Journal of Calendar Reform x (1940).—(Fourth Quarter: 160-163) Roy K. Marshall, "The Heavens Declare." A brief account of evidence available for fixing the date of the birth of Jesus Christ.

The Journal of Education cxxiv (1941).—(January: 21 f.) Henry Grattan Doyle, "Foreign Language as a 'Tool.'" The author concludes that "the 'tool' concept must remain at bottom one of the important reasons—though not the only one—for including foreign languages in any carefully considered plan of general or cultural education." (March: 84-86) Louis Foley, "The Real Parentage of English." ". . . we might speak of modern English as the offspring of a marriage between Anglo-Saxon and French, with Latin standing

by as a helpful godparent." Attention is called to the importance of French and Latin elements for the *meaning* of a sentence, and to certain qualities of the language that are due to the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

The Kenyon Review III (1941).—(Spring: 196–208) John Erskine, "Vergil." A discussion of the prevailing mood of the *Aeneid*. There is noted the "emphasis upon the past," the weariness and despair attendant upon the ending of an epoch. Vergil "had thoroughly portrayed the past-ridden mood, but he had failed to offer a cure for it." (This article appeared also by special arrangement and at the same time in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXVI, 390–400.)

Language XVII (1941).—(January–March: 24–32) E. Adelaide Hahn, "Quintilian on Greek Letters Lacking in Latin and Latin Letters Lacking in Greek" (XII, 10, 27–29). It is explained that the Greek letters are *zeta* and *upsilon*, the Latin letters *f* and *u*.

The Library XXI (1940).—(September: 160–191) John Carter and John Sparrow, "A. E. Housman: An Annotated Check-List." "The present check-list is designed to amplify [Mrs. Gow's list] . . . principally in respect of the periodical appearances of the poems."

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review CLXV (1940).—(October: 391–398) F. Brompton Harvey, "The Roman and the British Character." The author notes "the striking resemblances between the Roman moral ideal" and the British, in respect to *gravitas*, *veritas*, and *pietas*.

PAULI

Modern Language Quarterly II (1941).—(September: 403–420) Don C. Allen, "Latin Literature." A bibliographical survey of work done in the study of Renaissance Latin, accompanied by observations on the vast opportunities for further research in this field. "The concentrated study of the later Latin writers will have . . . a two-fold result. First, it will present to the members of the learned world a great lost literature in which one finds many writers who are superior to the lesser classical poets and to the great body of Renaissance writers in the vernacular; second, as it will enable scholars to appraise the poets and prose writers of every nation from a new viewpoint, it will bring about a complete revaluation of trends and traditions."

Modern Philology XXXIX (1941).—(August: 1–14) William A. Nitze, "Bedier's Epic Theory and the *Arthuriana* of Nennius." Investigation of a theory that the historical prototype of the later legendary Arthur was L. Artorius Castus, prefect of the Sixth Legion *Victrix*, stationed in northern Britain in the second century. Artorius is named in two inscriptions of the *CIL*.

More Books (Bulletin of the Boston Public Library) XVI (1941).—(June: 235–260) Zoltán Haraszti, "The Catholicon, the Golden Legend, and Other Early

Books." A description of seven more of the Boston Public Library's collection of fifteenth-century printed books, including copies of Johannes de Janua's *Catholicon* (Mainz, 1460), Werner Rolewinck's *Fasciculus Temporum* (Cologne, 1474), and William Caxton's English version of *The Golden Legend* (Westminster, 1483).

Philological Quarterly xx (1941).—(July: 212–223) B. L. Ullman, "Some Aspects of the Origin of Italian Humanism." (1) One important factor in the revival of the classics in Italy was the "cross-fertilization" between Italy and France in the fourteenth century, aided by the establishment of the papal court at Avignon in 1309. (2) Another factor that must be given due weight is "the influence of particular Latin authors in determining the direction that the Renaissance took." Brief discussion, by way of example, of the influence of Cicero, Seneca's tragedies, and Ovid in the Renaissance. (250–265) Hoyt H. Hudson, "Current English Translations of *The Praise of Folly*." An appraisal of the adequacy of four English translations of Erasmus' *Enchiridion Moriae*. (279–283) F. M. Padelford, "Aspects of Spenser's Vocabulary." A study of Spenser's contribution to the English language "of words derived outright from the classical or Romanic languages, and words derived by adding classical or Romanic prefixes or suffixes to existing words. . . ." (284–295) Edwin Casady, "The Neo-Platonic Ladder in Spenser's *Amoretti*." It is shown "that the reflections of the Neo-Platonic interpretation of love are more frequent and clearer in Spenser's sonnets than has been generally realized," and the consistency of the evidence suggests "the possibility that Spenser may have had the ladder in mind as he organized his sequence." (352–360) E. P. Kuhl, "Shakespeare's *Rape of Lucrece*." (361–370) T. W. Baldwin, "Perseus Purloins Pegasus." Despite Ovid, Perseus had been substituted for Bellerophon in the Middle Ages "as master of Pegasus, both horse and subsequent ship." In the second half of the sixteenth century "this bit of misinformation upon Pegasus" was disseminated by frequent illustrated editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. "Shakespeare's information on Perseus and Pegasus"—in passages in *Henry V* and *Troilus and Cressida*—"is most likely to indicate that he used one of these little illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses* in grammar school."

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences LXXIV (1940).—(November: 123 f.) Arthur Stanley Pease, "Tenny Frank (1876–1939)." A biographical notice.

Religion in Life x (1941).—(Summer: 424–429) Roy L. Smith, "The Spirit of Greece." The spirit of Greece, that "cannot and will not die," has four characteristics: "a love of physical excellence, a love of beauty, a quest for a rational basis for right conduct, and an intense love of liberty."

Review of English Studies xvii (1941).—(April: 166–183) Cornell M. Dowlin, "Plot as an Essential in Poetry." Discussion of the effect of "a too rigid

interpretation of the *Poetics* of Aristotle upon the literary theories of Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes, with particular reference to their belief that plot is essential to poetry.

School and Society LIV (1941).—(August 2: 65-70) W. L. Carr, "Some Criteria for Evaluating Activities in a Latin Classroom." Six criteria proposed and discussed. (August 23: 113-116) Louis Foley, "*Word-Education and the Word, Education.*" Some remarks on true and false etymologies. (August 30: 129-134) Richard M. Gummere, "Twenty Years On; or, The Next Two Decades in Private Secondary Education." I: "Changing Concepts of Culture"; II: "The Changing Curriculum"; III: "The Rôle of the Private or Independent School."

Scientific Monthly LIII (1941).—(July: 38-50) Walter W. Hyde, "The Bimillennium of the Birth of Augustus Caesar: An Estimate of His Work and Character."

Sewanee Review XLIX (1941).—(July-September: 385-396) Winifred Smith, "Greek Heroines in Modern Dress." A discussion of some modern European dramas that take their subjects from the Greek myths—plays by Franz Werfel, Jean Giraudoux, Max Mell, Jean Cocteau, and André Gide. "The examples given are enough to prove . . . the great vitality of Greek tragedy and the significant ways it can be remolded today. . . ."

South Atlantic Quarterly XL (1941).—(July: 259-268) Henry A. Myers, "Style and the Man." An essay that includes some judicious observations on the Greek view of art. The author asserts that "the art and letters of our time have need of a philosophy of style that will unite the ancient doctrine that art is an imitation of nature with the newer dogma that style is nothing more than self-expression. . . . The truth is, and always has been, that pure imitation of nature and pure expressionism are extremes equally distant from true style. Aristotle, the latest of the great Greeks, understood by imitation a creative interpretation of nature. In this way he found man and nature united in true style. The proper mean between the extreme theories of style is easily reached from either side. . . . Pure imitation of nature or of the past results only in pseudo-classicism; pure self-expression results only in the vagaries of expressionism; the grand style unites subject and object, man and nature, point of view and world, into one harmonious whole."

SPAETH